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EIGHT PAGES
FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
THE WEEK IN REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY

Shavit and Kessar meet Slight movement in El Al deadlock

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — There was a faint flicker of hope that an end is in sight to the five-day El Al strike, following a meeting last night between El Al board chairman Avraham Shavit and chairman of the Histadrut's trade union department, Yisrael Kessar.

The meeting did not include members of the workers' committees, who earlier in the day announced that they are willing to drop their preconditions for talks — that the management rescind a letter dismissing 18 El Al flight engineers, which was sent to the Histadrut without prior negotiation. But the likelihood that last night's meeting will resolve the deadlock is small. The workers are ready to talk — but refuse to return to work before the dismissals are retracted. And the management claims that it has "government support for its stand — which is not to negotiate until the workers end their strike."

Meanwhile, El Al flightcrews have announced that regardless of what other works committees involved in the strike decide — they will not return to work unless the management retracts its dismissal of the engineers.

The workers announced their readiness to talk early yesterday and were puzzled by the management's late response at the end of the day. During the day Shavit met with Transport Minister Haim Corfu, who according to some reports authorized him to close the airline

unless the workers return to work immediately. It was generally unclear what the management's position was during the day, and this caused considerable concern among workers.

El Al continued yesterday to find alternative ways of flying out about 1,000 stranded passengers. About 200 administrative workers, who were handed back-to-work orders at the beginning of the strike, helped in transferring the passengers to other airlines and getting them onto planes chartered by El Al.

El Al's management convened yesterday and decided to continue the company's recovery program. The Histadrut's executive, which convened in Shefayim yesterday, issued a unanimous call to El Al's works committees and management to return to regular work immediately. For the first time, however, it clearly placed the blame for the dispute on the management.

Meanwhile, the Airport Authority workers yesterday removed their threat to strike over income tax conditions, following talks with the authority's chairman, Ramon Harel, in which possible ways of meeting their demands were put forward. The way out of the third work dispute at Ben-Gurion Airport — the Civil Aviation workers' strike — is also in the offing, with the head of the Civil Servants Union taking upon himself to represent the strikers in their demands to be included in the Airport Authority.



Swedish divers looking for possible left-over equipment like mines or magnetic coils, dropped by the Soviet submarine that left Karlskrona four days ago.

Soviet sub had nuclear torpedo, Sweden charges

BONN (UPI). — The Soviet submarine stranded in Swedish waters for 10 days was armed with 18 torpedoes, at least one of which carried a nuclear warhead, Swedish Foreign Minister Ola Ullsten said in an interview released yesterday by the West German magazine Stern.

Ullsten said experts told the Stockholm government that there were 18 torpedoes on board the submarine U-137 which was returned to the USSR last Friday.

Ullsten said there were the clearest possible indications that one torpedo had a nuclear warhead.

The Soviets had refused the

Swedes permission to examine the torpedoes, he said.

Ullsten said he thought the incident would make Moscow "think twice before they send another submarine into Swedish waters."

Ullsten said the incident proved "how necessary it is for us to demand a nuclear-free zone" in the Baltic, but added that he had never found offers of this from Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev "credible."

"Ours was the clearest action taken against the Russians for a long, long time," he concluded.

Saudis say Israel jets driven off

BAHRAIN (Reuters). — The official Saudi Press Agency last night said that Israeli military aircraft yesterday violated Saudi Arabia's air-space, but were intercepted by Saudi warplanes.

The agency quoted a Saudi military spokesman in Riyadh as saying that "fighters of the Israeli enemy violated our air-space at the north-western region of the kingdom at 1400 (1100 GMT). Our fighter planes intercepted them, which led to their return to the occupied Arab lands."

In Tel Aviv, a military command spokesman refused to comment on the Saudi report. "The military never gives any details on its flights, not in the north, the south, the east or the west," said one Israeli spokesman.

The first headline broadcast by the Saudi state radio called the incident an attack, but the later report said only that the jets had violated Saudi air space.

(The report caused a flurry in the U.S. media, and on Wall Street, share prices dipped briefly.)

In Washington, deputy White House press secretary Larry

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Sharon: May move against PLO in Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Defence Minister Ariel Sharon said yesterday that Israel may have no choice but to abandon diplomacy and take other action to stop PLO violations of the cease-fire in Lebanon.

Speaking to foreign correspondents, Sharon said that Israel had agreed to hold off acting until political steps are taken to solve the problem of Lebanon.

But, he warned, "Israel will not be able to wait for an unlimited period. And if all these efforts do not succeed — and I don't see them doing so right now — Israel will have to decide to act."

"I can only tell you that we're going to do something," he said.

Sharon said the terrorists had violated the cease-fire "about 20 times" since it went into effect on July 24. There have also been eight terrorist attacks against Jewish targets in Europe, and numerous Palestinian attempts to launch strikes against Israel from Jordan,

including one in which landmines killed one Israeli soldier and wounded eight others.

Repeating accusations that the Palestinians have increased their firepower in Lebanon and strengthened their positions there, Sharon noted that U.S. envoy Philip Habib, who negotiated the cease-fire, "told Prime Minister Menachem Begin that if any additional heavy weapons are obtained by the terrorists, this will be regarded as a cease-fire violation."

Habib is due back in the region later this month and Sharon said Israel still hoped for a diplomatic solution to the crisis caused by Syria's deployment of SAM-6 anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

The defence minister also revealed that last year 1,700 terrorists from all over the world were trained in Lebanon. Graduates of the terror courses were sent back to South America, Germany, Italy, Japan and Angola, he said.

Begin: We can yield no more

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin yesterday said that Israel had reached the limit of its concessions in its peace proposals, and reiterated that the government would not be forced into making further ones, despite what he called a "campaign of pressure" waged by the European Community and those who endorse the Saudi Arabian proposals.

"Those who live with the illusion that the European initiative or the Saudi liquidation programme of Crown Prince Fahd have any chance of success, are not standing on solid ground," Begin said during an impromptu press conference yesterday at the opening of the Israel Technology Week in Jerusalem. (Photograph — page 2)

Calling Israel's proposals for Palestinian autonomy "generous," Begin said that Israel could not offer more concessions in negotiations with Egypt. His remarks came

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

Phalange okays Beirut demilitarization plan

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and agencies

Christian Phalange leader Bashir Jemayel has grudgingly announced his acceptance of a plan to demilitarize the demarcation line dividing the Moslem and Christian sectors of Beirut — despite what he called the "unacceptable terms" introduced by Syria.

In a speech late on Sunday night, following the latest meeting of the Arab League Follow-up Committee on Lebanon in Beirut, Jemayel said the Christians would agree to any decision taken by the committee.

He added that they were prepared to accept "even unacceptable terms introduced by Syria — not because we are willing to give up our rights or surrender, but because we... know that the unacceptable terms placed by the Syrians will show their true face to the Arabs."

Whatever tractability Syria had shown on the committee — which comprises the foreign ministers of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as representatives of Lebanon and the Arab League — was aimed

only at rallying "economic support" at the Arab summit in Fez, Morocco, later this month, Jemayel charged. Syria relies heavily on Arab economic aid, especially from Saudi Arabia.

Observers note that Jemayel appears deliberately to have refrained from placing difficulties in the path of the committee, perhaps because he was persuaded by the Americans during his recent visit to Washington that the Saudi-dominated body provided the best chance of ridding Lebanon of the large Syrian force that has been in the country since the end of the 1975-76 civil war.

The Christians are known to be extremely unhappy about the plan approved by the committee to police Lebanon's ports, but not its land frontiers, in a bid to prevent arms from reaching the various warring factions. It has been noted that the Christians are virtually totally dependent on the ports for their arms deliveries, while their Palestinian and Moslem rivals receive most of their weapons by land through Syria. The PLO has made it clear that it would block any move that would cut off its arms supplies.

Histadrut blames gov't for current strike wave

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Senior Histadrut officials yesterday blamed the government for the wave of strikes and sanctions in the public service sector. However, the chief labour relations officer at the Ministry of Labour, Nahman Ori, maintained there was only a coincidental link between the various disputes.

Government and Histadrut officials, when asked yesterday, were unable to say exactly how many people were striking and how many had threatened to do so.

Some 7,000 El Al and court employees were away from work yesterday. The number is expected to swell to about 23,000 today when salaried agricultural workers go on a one-day warning strike, and about 900 national insurance employees start a three-day stoppage, in Jerusalem.

The disruption in the courts will get worse today when the 140 clerks working under back-to-work orders try to do less and less. "We'll do our best to make certain that trials are not held," one of their leaders Shmuel Levi declared. A total of 800 court aides have been striking for higher pay, and lawyers find it difficult to file suits, defence briefs

and make payments.

Meanwhile, Attorney-General Gushki Zami has warned the works committee of the courts employees that a threat to prevent judges and other officers of the court from doing their work as implied in a recent circular is an apparent violation of the law.

Zami wrote to the works committee after he had received a letter from Supreme Court president Justice Moshe Landau drawing his attention to the circular.

The attorney-general pointed out that the circular appears to contravene a section of the criminal law which lays down a three-year sentence for persons who interfere in the judicial process. He also referred to disciplinary provisions in the Civil Service Law.

"In order to prevent any misunderstanding, I wish to bring to your notice that I will see myself bound to institute legal proceedings against anyone who acts in accordance with the circular," wrote Zami.

The strike of the employees of the head office of the National Insurance Institute is in protest against a 20 per cent deduction from the salaries of the computer

UK: rift over Sinai force based on 'misunderstanding'

By HAIM CORNEY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The clash between Britain and Israel (and the U.S.) over the terms for European participation in the Sinai multinational peacekeeping force "is based on a misunderstanding which we regret," according to a senior Foreign Office source close to Lord Carrington.

The foreign office has been taken aback, and indeed embarrassed, by the strength of reaction in America and Israel to comments made by the British foreign secretary about the conditions under which Britain would agree to supply troops to the force. Those comments it is pointed out, were made on the eve of his departure for Riyadh and with the possible reaction of his Saudi hosts very much in mind.

Now that he has returned, there appears to be a considerable exercise in backtracking going on.

The foreign office is now trying to explain what Carrington meant. Britain is not contesting the legal basis or the terms of reference under which the MFO is to operate. This is set out in the Camp David Agreement and is not being questioned by Britain.

What Britain is doing, however, is to "affirm a distinctive political position" of the European Ten which is different from that of Camp David. Britain is not saying that the force is to supervise Israeli withdrawal (although Carrington did in fact say that last week to a group of Arab journalists in London).

Britain is also making it clear that its contribution is essential to the force, as a number of other countries are making their participation conditional on that of Britain.

Faced with the unexpectedly strong reaction, Britain is now consulting its European partners afresh. In London yesterday, that process of consultation began when the foreign secretary had a meeting

with his Italian opposite number, Emilio Colombo. The consultations with the EEC partners and, in particular, the other three who have been asked to contribute to the force are about "how to take into account the signals from Jerusalem."

So the dilemma continues for Britain, which does not want to upset the Americans by jeopardizing the very formation of the force, but at the same time is determined to preserve the independent European line as embodied in the Venice Declaration. A formal announcement is expected later this week.

Meanwhile, Carrington is hoping that the rest of the Arab world will endorse the Fahd plan when it meets in Fez later this month. The British foreign secretary believes that the Saudi plan is flexible, though that flexibility may not be spelled out until after its adoption in Fez.

Carrington told his Saudi hosts that he did not endorse the plan in its entirety and certainly he did not agree with its call for East Jerusalem to be the capital of a Palestinian state. But he was encouraged by the fact that the Saudis were not presenting the plan on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

Britain also hopes that the PLO will endorse the plan. Asked whether such an endorsement would be sufficient for Carrington to agree to meet Yasser Arafat, his spokesman said that it "would certainly help" but would not in itself be sufficient.

Attempts to heal any possible American-British rift will be made later this week when Douglas Hurd, Minister of State at the Foreign Office with special responsibility for the Middle East, goes to the U.S. He leaves tomorrow for a three-day visit, which was arranged before a "cool it" message from U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Carrington.

Tough action against unrest, strikes in East Jerusalem

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
and DAVID RICHARDSON

Palestinian flags were raised in East Jerusalem yesterday and many Arab traders shut their shops to protest against the closure last week of Bir Zeit University and the government's plan to install a civilian administration in the West Bank.

Fifteen youths were arrested in a string of demonstrations and other incidents as reinforced police contingents patrolled the area.

Leaflets calling for a total commercial strike and the closure of schools and other public institutions today in the West Bank and East Jerusalem were distributed yesterday in the Arab community. The army censor in Jerusalem ordered the East Jerusalem newspaper *Al-Fajr* closed for 10 days for allegedly printing the leaflets which were cited as "illegal publications."

main commercial centre, was closed to traffic last night when youths set fire to a large garbage bin in the centre of the road.

The first indication of unrest yesterday was a 6 a.m. police patrol discovery of slogans written on the walls of the Old City shuk calling for a Palestinian state. Two hours later, a Palestinian flag was found lying outside Damascus Gate. Three more flags were seen later in the morning flying from an unfinished hotel on Saladin Street.

Although the commercial shutdown was nearly total outside the Old City, most shops inside the walls remained open.

Some 40 people carrying placards calling for the opening of Bir Zeit University demonstrated at a labour union office in Beit Hanina. Four were arrested. Police arrested eight others at Damascus Gate for allegedly inciting store-owners to

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

Knesset mission to U.S. today

Post Knesset Reporter

A six-member Knesset delegation leaves today for the U.S. to explain Israel's opposition to the eight-point Saudi Arabian plan for a Middle East settlement and the threat to Israel posed by the warming of relations between Washington and Riyadh.

Israel Bonds is expected to pay part of the delegation's bill in return for lectures at Bonds functions in the U.S.

Moshe Arens, chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, heads the delegation, which will spend 10 days in the U.S. Speculation has it that Arens will be the next Israeli ambassador in Washington.

Apart from Arens, other Likud MKs in the delegation are Yosef Rom (Herut) and Sara Doron (Liberals). Originally, no Liberal

names were mentioned for the delegation and the third Likud MK was expected to be Ehud Olmert (La'am). On Sunday the Liberal dove Dror Zeigerman MK wrote to Prime Minister Menachem Begin to protest that the Liberals were being shouldered aside. Yesterday Olmert's name was dropped and Doron's name appeared instead. The three Alignment members of the delegation are Shlomo Hillel, Chaim Herzog and Daniel Rosolio (all Labour).

Tanin to U.S. to sign cooperation memo

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A delegation led by defence ministry planning unit chief Aluf Avraham Tanin left for the U.S. yesterday for talks on the memorandum of understanding which Defence Minister Ariel Sharon is due to sign with U.S. Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger. The memorandum concerns U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation.

The delegation had been scheduled to leave early last week, but departure was postponed to express Israeli dissatisfaction with what is perceived here as Washington's pro-Saudi tilt and possible support for Riyadh's eight-point peace plan.

Sharon last week said he had accepted Weinberger's invitation to go to Washington later this month. Commenting on how Israel views strategic cooperation, Sharon said at a press conference yesterday it would have to be broadly conceived and deal with political, economic and military aspects.

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See page 6

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Knesset mourns Dayan

By ARNOLD RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

MEK Mordechai Ben-Porat (Leumi) yesterday called on the government to publish the Agranat Report on the Yom Kippur War, so that the public could get an authoritative account that would do justice to Moshe Dayan's role in the critical days before the war.

He was speaking at a memorial session for Dayan in the Knesset, in which Dayan's widow Rahel, his daughter, Yael, Nahalal friends and leaders of Dayan's Leumi party took part.

In his eulogy, Ben-Porat called Dayan "a man of truth" who "lived straight talk, even if it was critical of him."

He continued: "Without Moshe, we have become shallower and more routine. His originality is gone, and his wisdom will be missed. But he would have wanted us to

continue in his way: not to lay down the sword but not to live by it alone. And to do the utmost to find any possible opening for living together with our neighbors."

Alignment Chairman Shimon Peres called Dayan one of the most original, fruitful, and credible personalities in the history of modern Israel, who had become its symbol in the eyes of millions all over the world.

Peres expressed his conviction that Dayan's decision to join the Begin government in 1977 was not motivated by the mere desire for public office but by his feeling that he had no right to pass up an opportunity to contribute to the attainment of peace.

At the conclusion of the eulogies, Rahel Dayan and Yael were greeted by Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Speaker Menachem Savidor, who offered their condolences.

Modan tells Knesset committee

Mistake made about sewage in Lake

Post Knesset Reporter

The Health Ministry's district engineer erred when he agreed to sewage being channelled into Lake Kinneret while repairs are being made to the salt water aqueduct which normally receives sewage as well as salt water, Health Ministry director-general Baruch Modan told the Knesset Economic Committee yesterday.

Neither should the engineer have closed off the entire lake shore for

bathing, Modan said.

The water reaching households via the National Water Carrier is still within safe health limits despite the fact that sewage is being channelled into the lake, which is the carrier's reservoir.

However, some settlements such as Ashdot Yaakov which pipe their water direct from the Kinneret are getting sewage water in their kitchen taps instead of drinking water due to sewage pollution, Modan said.

MKs angry at 'unfair' court attack

Post Knesset Reporter

Two of the three MKs rebuked on Sunday by the Jerusalem District Court for failing to appear to testify in a libel suit brought by Transport Minister Haim Corfu against the weekly *Ha'Olam Hazeh* went over to the counter-attack yesterday.

Moshe Shahal, chairman of the Alignment faction, and Yehuda Ben-Meir, chairman of the National Religious Party faction, complained that the court had no right to "criticize" them, since they had never received any official summons to appear.

They said all they knew of the matter was from a copy of a letter sent by the court last month to the Knesset speaker, who has the statutory responsibility for arrang-

ing MKs' court appearances. Shahal and Ben-Meir said the speaker took no action on the court's letter. But of their own volition, the MKs said, they had suggested appearing on December 1, one of the dates suggested by the court.

Shahal and Ben-Meir said a probe should be made of how the court came to make an unfounded public rebuke without first clarifying whether summonses to testify had reached them.

When the third MK mentioned in court, Menachem Porush of Aguda, saw the copy of the court's letter to the speaker last month, he wrote to the court saying that he had no testimony to give and did not want to be mixed up in somebody else's personal quarrel.

Levy, Dulzin agree on slum project

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Authority and responsibility for Project Renewal will now be coordinated by the Construction and Housing Ministry and the Jewish Agency, it was agreed yesterday by Housing Minister David Levy and agency chairman Arye Dulzin.

Levy went to Dulzin's office at the agency for the first time in years to discuss the urban slum rehabilitation scheme proposed by Prime Minister Menachem Begin over four years ago.

Agreeing to coordinate Project

Renewal policy, the two said they would eliminate redundancies, establish joint supervision of the project, and prepare a joint budget starting in the coming fiscal year.

A committee headed by Dulzin and Levy will coordinate policies, while Deputy Housing Minister Moshe Katzav and the director-general of the agency and the Housing Ministry will decide on details.

The Zionist Executive yesterday decided that the 30th Zionist Congress will be held in Jerusalem for six days, starting December 7, 1982.

200 Gazans may study in Egypt

GAZA (Itim) — Egypt has agreed to admit 200 high-school graduates from the Gaza Strip into universities and colleges in Egypt, reversing a previous ban.

Until the signing of the Camp David agreement, three-to-five thousand high-school leavers continued their academic education in Egypt every year. But three years ago, the Egyptians announced that they would no longer accept Gaza candidates for Egyptian universities. A year later, only 100 were admitted. The Egyptian authorities hinted that they would reaccept students only if a high-level delegation from the Strip went to Cairo to express support for Anwar Sadat's policies.

But no such delegation was willing to go, and the Egyptians again refused to allow any students into Egypt. There has been no explanation for the current reversal of policy, which was announced in a letter sent to the Ministry of Education in the Gaza Strip.

Egypt's industry head shortens visit here

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The planned one-week visit to Israel by Egyptian Minister of Industry Mohammed Taha Zaki has been shortened to two-and-a-half days, so that he can attend memorial services for Anwar Sadat in Cairo on Saturday.

The minister will arrive at midnight tonight, as the guest of Trade and Industry Minister Gideon Patt. Most of his time will be spent discussing ways of increasing Israeli-Egyptian cooperation in industry and commerce. He will thus not make extensive tours of the country. He will be accompanied by his wife and daughter.

FIGHT — Two policemen were hurt Saturday when they tried to break up a fight between two groups of youths from Jaffa and Neve Shalom, who were spending the night in Beit Hatznan in Ramat Gan. Five of the youths were arrested.

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PEOPLE IN THE NEWS



Egyptian State Minister for Economy Suleiman Nureddin, holding an Israel Export Institute press kit in his hand, talks to Moshe Nayer, head of the Israel pavilion, outside the pavilion.

WAITING in vain at the recent Cairo Fair for Building Equipment and Furniture was Moshe Nayer, head of the Israeli pavilion. On his return from Egypt he reported that Egyptian State Minister for Economy Suleiman Nureddin passed by the Israeli exhibit without entering, promising to make a special visit later. But the visit never came. Commercially, Nayer had no complaints, as the exhibit resulted in orders worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

TWO TOP Jewish Soviet chess players, Michael Noah, 60, and Oleg Kaminsky, 35, have both received notice that they will not be allowed to leave Russia, after years of seeking permission to come to Israel. In an attempt to win support for them among Western and Soviet sportsmen and chess players, the Association of Russian Immigrants here has set up a special committee headed by local writer and chess player Michael Kaganovsky.

Meanwhile the trial of another ally activist, Alexander Paritsky, is due to open tomorrow. Paritsky, who founded the Jewish university in Kharkov a year ago, is being charged with disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda. The lawyer officially assigned to him has yet to visit him in prison. Before his arrest, the 43-year-old professor of engineering was working as an elevator repairman.

APART from revealing a lifelong liking for his mother's home-made noodles, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev disclosed few secrets in the recently released fourth instalment of his memoirs in Moscow's *Literary magazine Novy Mir*. Though the memoirs cover the 1930s, no mention is made of Josef Stalin's purges during which millions of people were killed.

Man gets 15 years for killing child

BEERSHEBA (Itim) — A man of 36, convicted of killing a four-year-old boy last April after the child had disturbed his rest, was sentenced to 15 years in jail yesterday by the District Court here.

Elihu Levy, of Kiryat Gat, heard Michael Suissa, the child of one of his neighbours, making a noise in his apartment's stairwell. Levy confronted the boy, became angered when the boy shouted back, and dragged him into his flat. When the child cried for his mother, Levy bashed his head in with a brick.

In sentencing Levy, the judge

Call to reform laws on involuntary mental patients

Jerusalem Post Staff

TEL AVIV. — About one quarter of admissions to local psychiatric institutions are against the patient's will, and the law governing the procedures used is in need of radical reform, two Tel Aviv University social scientists said yesterday.

Dr. Uri Aviram, head of the school of social work at Tel Aviv University, and Dr. Dan Shnit, who specializes in social legislation, have recently completed a study on involuntary hospitalization of mental patients, and have published a book, *Psychiatric Treatment and Civil Liberties*, in which they suggest a thorough overhaul of the laws governing the institutionalization of mental patients.

At present, about 3,000 of the 13,000 patients in mental hospitals were admitted against their will. About 300 involuntary patients are admitted into psychiatric institutions every year, the researchers said.

The researchers told a press conference in Beit Sokolov that they have found that ambiguities in the law leave many loopholes, which make the conditions under which a patient can be forced to enter a psychiatric institution highly variable.

According to the law, involuntary hospitalization of dangerous

patients is permissible, but there are no clear guidelines to define danger. Admissions must be approved by the district psychiatrist, but as he is often the head of the hospital, this tends to increase the number of admissions. Although they had made no study to determine whether the patients committed actually needed psychiatric care, the researchers said that they had come across some suspect cases — a psychiatrist committing his wife, for example.

The researchers' main thrust was that the district psychiatrists often confirmed admissions without examining the patient and without even examining the attending psychiatrist's findings. There was no rule for the periodical revision of all long-term cases, and patients could "get lost" in the bureaucratic maze. Even where the law is clear, it is often not respected, they said. Thus, the right of appeal is very rarely respected. Also, a copy of an involuntary hospitalization order is supposed to be sent to the attorney-general, but this is not done.

The researchers said that they had received full cooperation from the Ministry of Health, and that they were forwarding their findings to the ministry in the hope that it would take steps to pass a modern law, which would define patients' rights.

J'men city officer freed on IS200,000 bail

Jerusalem's deputy chief municipal inspector, Charlie Darai, accused of 12 counts of bribery, in a recent assault, and supplying drugs, was yesterday released on bail of IS200,000 in the Jerusalem District Court, pending the start of his trial.

Judge Yehuda Weiss rejected the district attorney's request that Darai be held in custody. The judge said there was no evidence that Darai would try to suborn witnesses, and the trial will not start for another two or three months. But he ordered Darai to report to the police twice a week.

Darai, 46, is accused of asking for and accepting thousands of lire in bribes from two East Jerusalem street peddlars at the beginning of 1980. In return, the prosecution alleges, he saw that they were left alone by inspectors to operate without licences.

Other charges of corruption are that he received over IS1,500, cigarettes and whisky for similar favours.

Eight counts relate to Darai's alleged infatuation with a female inspector whom he is said to have lured to his office, where he made indecent advances to her. The prosecution contends that Darai subsequently demoted the young woman from her position as a driver

and, when she asked why, told her, "You don't know how to give, so I won't give you anything." On another occasion, the inspector allegedly slapped her face and tried to force her to have intercourse with him in his office.

Darai is also charged with offering the woman hashish.

Allegedly, when the woman threatened to go to the police, Darai said he would promote her to the highest grade if only she would "forget the whole business."

The charge sheet also details another alleged incident with a second woman inspector. If she would only sleep with him, Darai is said to have promised her, "You'll be really happy! You'll be like a queen at work here!"

The prosecution expects to call 26 witnesses. (Itim)

Teachers call off strike

By BENNY MORRIS
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The two teachers unions yesterday evening called off their threatened strikes after signing an agreement with the government on "unification" of pay problems.

The Secondary School Teachers Association had threatened to begin a strike tomorrow which the Histadrut teachers union had said it would join in protest against discrimination in social benefits suffered by teachers working in more than one school.

For example, teachers teaching in both junior high school and senior high school classes are paid by local authorities (for the hours in junior high) and by the education ministry (for the hours in the senior high

school). This has meant that their social benefits are calculated separately, entailing loss of pension rights, seniority and overtime pay.

In 1975, the two unions signed an agreement with the government unifying pay and social benefits for teachers working in more than one institution. But various legal and administrative problems arose, and since then many teachers, paid separately by two institutions, have lost certain benefits.

In the agreement signed yesterday, the Education Ministry and the Civil Service Commission, and the two unions agreed to carry out the 1975 agreement immediately and to set up a joint committee to find ways within 30 days of overcoming problems.

Gliding terrorist gets 12 year prison sentence

HAIFA (Itim) — The District Court here yesterday passed a 12-year jail sentence on a terrorist who infiltrated into Israel by a powered hang-glider to blow up the Haifa oil refineries. Juma Haled Yusuf al-Yusuf, 34, was also found guilty of membership in an illegal organization, being in illegal possession of weapons and bombs, two previous attempts at armed infiltration, and of kidnapping.

The prosecution had asked that the maximum penalty of life imprisonment be imposed even though Yusuf had failed to carry out his mission, because success would have caused serious loss of life and damage to property.

The court agreed with the prosecution about the probable results of a successful attack, but declined to impose a life term since the court had sentenced Yusuf's accomplice, a young man of 17, a month ago to only seven years. But in view of Yusuf's age and the serious crimes of which he is guilty, his sentence should be more severe, the court said.

Yusuf, born in Turkey of Syrian Arab parents, deserted from the Turkish army and fled to Syria where he joined the Palestine Liberation Organization in June 1979. He was trained to infiltrate into Israel by glider, but two previous attempts failed for technical reasons, he told the court. But on March 6, 1981, he entered

Israel by glider armed with a Kalashnikov rifle, two 10-kg. bombs, a pistol and ammunition. While over the bayside area, the glider developed a fault and Yusuf dropped one of the bombs which damaged a house in Kiryat Bialik.

Yusuf landed in a field near Kibbutz Afek from which he made his way to Moshav Ahilud. There he forced a passerby to lead him to Deir el-Asad. After five hours' walking, Yusuf set his hostage free, and at dawn entered Tamra village. He forced his way into a house and threatened the occupants not to leave, but when he was overcome by fatigue, they called the police.

The court was composed of Judges Avraham Friedman, Natan Kleinberger and Malkiel Slutsky.

Eilat flood repair bill may reach IS10m.

EILAT (Itim) — Flood damage in Eilat has been largely repaired, but the bill, while not final, has been high — perhaps as high as IS10m.

A flash flood eleven days ago inundated the town with over 3,500 tons of rubble and stone, cracked roads, and did extensive damage to private property. The repair work was spearheaded by the municipality, using private contractors.

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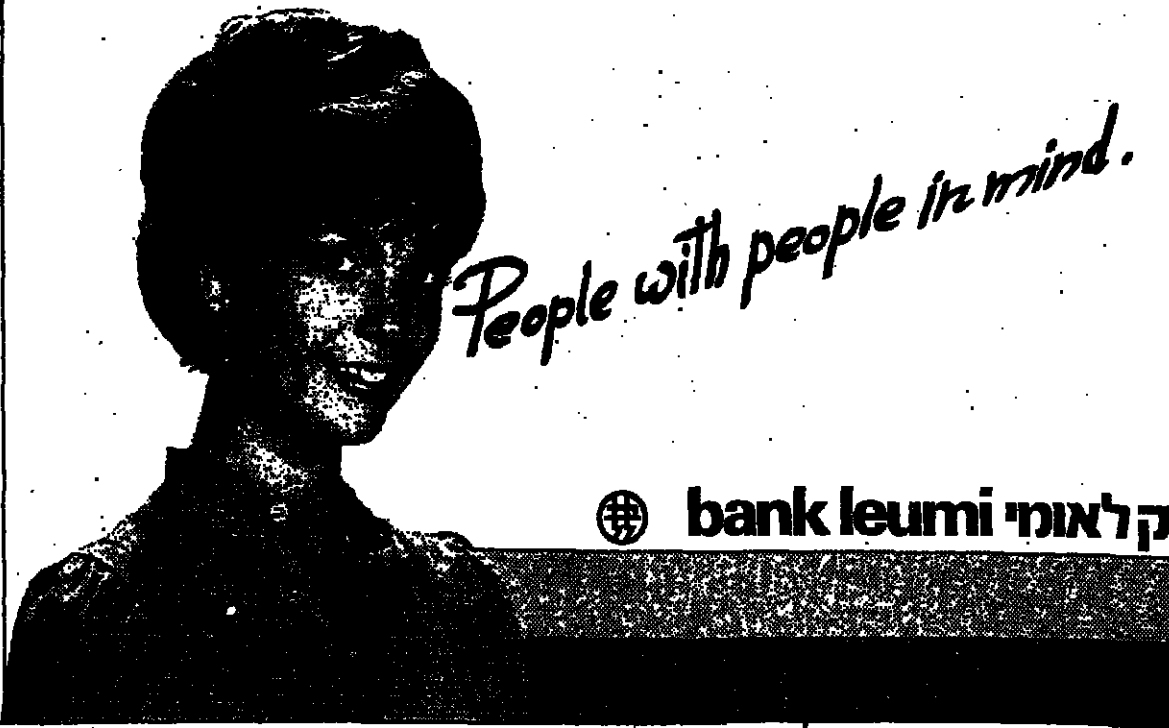
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In These Parts, Friendship Is a Three-Way Street

By ALAN COWELL

KHARTOUM, the Sudan — A French diplomat was musing once on a reporter's question about the scope of an African war. Had there been any big battles? the reporter asked. The Frenchman sighed and shrugged a Gallic shrug and said, "Mon cher, in Africa, there are never any big battles." The generalization does not hold true for every African war in recent times, but it does characterize the sputtering in the continent's northeast where surrogates are enacting a confrontation in miniature between East and West, and where alliances of convenience shift with sometimes surprising haste.

Predictably, a principal player is Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, who last week was reported to be withdrawing at least part of his force of more than 4,000 men from Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia are also involved in the kaleidoscope of alliances, constantly melting and reforming, that link the southern rim of the Arab world to Africa.

The most recent grouping involves Libya, South Yemen and Ethiopia, three allies of the Soviet Union that Colonel Qaddafi envisions as an axis to oppose the region's Western-looking nations. Glued by promises of Libyan economic aid, the alliance is not, however, a solid bulwark. Ethiopia has a separate understanding with the Sudan, a friend of the United States, that is dictated on both sides by a pragmatic appreciation of the damage these neighbors could inflict on each other.

Many-Fronted 'Salvation'

Thus, the Ethiopians have promised to rein in disgruntled southern Sudanese opposed to the Khartoum Government of President Gaafar el-Nimeiry. And General Nimeiry has promised to curb Eritrean and Tigrajan rebels who have challenged Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam's reign in Addis Ababa from sanctuaries in the Sudan.

The Ethiopian leader feels no need for such an understanding with Somalia, a pro-Western neighbor defeated by Ethiopia in the 1977-78 Ogaden war. Colonel Mengistu's sanctuary to a Libyan-financed group that is seeking to overthrow the Somali leader, Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre. He, in turn, backs the West Somali Liberation Front against Colonel Mengistu.

In this array of small armies, few of which can hope to achieve straight-out military victories, the Sudanese back an anti-Libyan group in Chad, the Libyans are trying to form a Sudanese "salvation front" against General Nimeiry and there is a Sudan-supported Libyan "salvation front" opposed to Colonel Qaddafi.

The best-known conflict perhaps is in Eritrea. In

what has become Africa's longest-running war, separatists have been seeking to wrest control of Tigray and Eritrea provinces from the Ethiopian Government in Addis Ababa for 20 years. Often, the Eritreans have been absorbed more in fighting each other than in fighting the Soviet-backed Ethiopians. Fleeing internecine feuding, 3,000 members of one Eritrean faction recently took refuge in the Sudan where, Western diplomats said, they were disarmed by the Sudanese under terms of a rapprochement six months ago between the Sudan and Ethiopia.

The Eritreans, however, may be President Nimeiry's last trump card in his ideological confrontation with Ethiopia. So, rapprochement or not, separatist officials still find sanctuary in Khartoum. Some of their offices have been closed, Western diplomats said, but President Nimeiry's repression has not gone much beyond holding them in check, as a kind of insurance policy. Separatist "war communiques" are still issued in Khartoum and fighting is still reported in Eritrea and Tigray.

Ethiopian-Sudanese Entente

The Sudanese are deeply concerned about Colonel Mengistu's recent tryst with Colonel Qaddafi. Yet, on the surface, they are making every effort to avoid a rift with him over the Ethiopia-Libya-South Yemen alliance. Sudanese officials say they accept at face value Ethiopian assurances that the pact is not anti-Sudanese. General Nimeiry's prime concern, a Sudanese official said, is to forestall any Ethiopian encouragement of the southern Sudanese, traditional opponents of northerners like himself, that would add to an already volatile situation in the troubled south of his vast, centrifugally strained country.

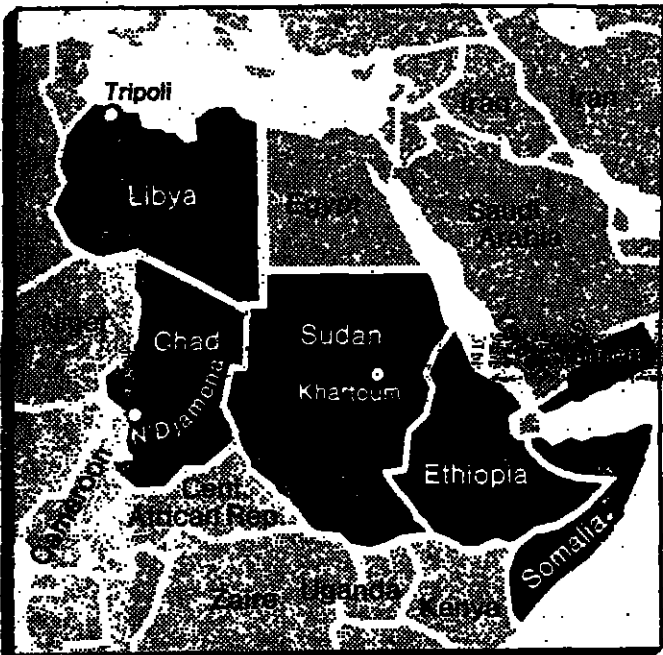
General Nimeiry's relationship with Colonel Qaddafi is far less equivocal. The Sudanese leader makes no secret of his willingness to see his Libyan counterpart overthrown and the feeling is mutual. Ironically, Colonel Qaddafi played a central role in helping General Nimeiry defeat one Soviet-backed coup attempt. In 1971, the Libyan ruler arrested the coup leaders at Tripoli airport as they tried to fly home from exile in London.

That intervention gave General Nimeiry time to rally support and crush the rebellion. But shortly afterward, he broke with the Kremlin and sought the friendship of Washington, thereby aligning himself with Colonel Qaddafi's enemies. By 1976, the Libyan was supporting a coup attempt against General Nimeiry which was crushed with much bloodshed in Khartoum. Ever since, General Nimeiry has harbored a deep-seated loathing for his Libyan neighbor.

To complete the triangle, Colonel Mengistu is balanced between the Sudan and Libya. The Ethiopian leader needs Libyan funds to help finance the massive Soviet and Cuban arms buildup in his country. At the same time, he is seeking to minimize the threat from separatists that necessitates heavy defense spending. This may explain why Colonel Mengistu has resisted Libyan pressure to depict their agreement with South Yemen as anti-Sudanese.

The Libyan leader's goal seems to be to attack countries that he considers "reactionary" in his wider effort to oppose the Camp David accords between Egypt, his large and hostile neighbor, and Israel. The Egyptian and Israeli leaders have tacitly supported the accord by maintaining relations with Egypt when the rest of the Arab world was trying to punish Cairo.

Colonel Qaddafi's pact with Ethiopia and South Yemen has formalized an alignment of ideologically similar regimes. But Western diplomats said that it has yet to produce the kind of pincer pressure on Khartoum that the Libyan leader would apparently like to achieve.



The Nation

In Summary

Across the Land, The Levers Fall Where They May

Putting an ear to the ground during off-year elections sometimes yields a sense of where the nation is coming from, or galloping off to. More often it's just another way to get an earache. True to form, last week's voting in a scattering of states and cities seemed to show hesitancy toward black politicians, a tendency to reelect familiar faces and a reluctance to spend money — but there were the usual notable exceptions.

In Birmingham, Ala., liberal whites and many blacks apparently joined conservative whites in opposing a slate of five black City Council candidates backed by Richard Arrington, the city's first black mayor. After a campaign occasionally reminiscent of the bad old days, four of the five were defeated by whites. Greensboro, N.C., 33 percent black and — after last year's murder trial of Ku Klux Klansmen — sharply divided, elected its first all-white City Council in 18 years. But Detroit's Mayor Coleman A. Young, a black, easily won a third four-year term and Spokane, Wash., and Hartford elected their first black mayors.

Incumbent mayors had little trouble holding on to their jobs in such cities as Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Minneapolis. But in Houston, two-term Mayor Jim McConn lost his job, finishing third in a field of 14. His principle opponents — City Controller

Kathryn J. Whitmire and Sheriff Jack Heard, due to meet in a runoff next week — had contended that he wasn't up to running a boom town. Mr. McConn blamed his unimpressive reporting about his business af-



Alexander M. Haig Jr.

fairs. "I have more integrity than anybody I know in the media," he said. In Miami, Maurice A. Ferre, the country's only native Puerto Rican big-city mayor, was forced into a runoff. The day after tomorrow, he'll face Manolo Reboso, a former member of the City Commission who was born in Cuba.

In some states, parsimony was clearly the prevailing mood. In West Virginia, \$750 million in highway bonds failed, despite a hard sell by Gov. John D. Rockefeller 4th. In Texas, voters rejected a \$500 million plan to help local governments pay for water projects while the issuing of \$200 million in bonds to help veterans make land purchases was approved. And in Pennsylvania, plans to issue \$315 million in bonds won by large margins.

A Soft Landing On Voting Rights

President Reagan finally took a stand on the Voting Rights Act last week, and his views were hailed as either surprisingly flexible or unacceptably insensitive. Calling the right to vote "the crown jewel of American liberties," Mr. Reagan said he could accept a renewal of the current law or a toned-down version of a bill adopted by the House last month.

The President has often been sharply critical of provisions of the Voting Rights Act that apply to all of nine states and parts of 13 others and are anathema to many of his political supporters. Nevertheless, aides said that before declaring himself, Mr. Reagan had been poised to promise

that he would support any bill that the House and Senate agreed on. This was because (a) in Tuesday's elections, some Republican candidates appeared to have suffered because many black voters assumed the party cares little about them; (b) Mr. Reagan, who already has a platter full of economic and foreign policy problems, would rather avoid a major civil rights battle. But Attorney General William French Smith reportedly interceded and persuaded the President to be less accommodating.

As a result, Mr. Reagan said he favored several changes. For one thing, he would make it easier for states with a history of discrimination to end their obligation to submit all election law changes to Washington for "preclearance."

And he said that minority voters

mounting challenges to election laws should be required to prove that discrimination was intentional. The Democratic House voted to permit such voters to file suits even if discrimination wasn't intentional; the Republican-run Senate takes up the legislation early next year.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights said it was "extremely disappointed" that Mr. Reagan didn't endorse the House bill. But some activists found cause for hope. A spokesman for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund said it was nothing less than "fantastic" for the President to have supported continuation of a provision requiring bilingual elections in some states.

Michael Wright and Caroline Rand Ferren

Haig Takes Offense, and Makes It Public

FOR Haigographers, it was one of the four most memorable weeks since President Reagan appointed Alexander M. Haig Jr. as Secretary of State.

Its climax came on Thursday when Mr. Haig and Richard V. Allen, the national security adviser, called on the Oval Office carpet by a President worried that their feuding would undermine his foreign policy.

The episode raised anew the question of whether a flamboyant free-lancer with Mr. Haig's taste for public outbursts can find acceptance in an Administration that favors "team players" who settle their disputes by "roundtable" in private.

Last weekend, Mr. Haig complained to Jack Anderson, the syndicated columnist, that a high White House official was waging a "guerrilla campaign" to drive the Secretary out of the Government. Top White House advisers were dismayed that Mr. Haig then dragged the President into the flap by calling him at Camp David and having Mr. Reagan

telephone Mr. Anderson to affirm his faith in Mr. Haig.

There was a familiar quality to all this, for Mr. Haig was using the same charge-ahead style that provoked the first of his four crises.

That came on Inauguration Day when Mr. Haig confronted the newly sworn President with a plan that, if not delayed by White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker 3d, would have given Mr. Haig carte blanche control over foreign policy decisions.

The second week of tension was provoked when the Secretary of State condemned a White House plan to put Vice President Bush in charge of the Administration's crisis management team. The third episode, of course, came when Mr. Haig, appearing quite agitated, assured reporters that he was "in control" after Mr. Reagan was shot on March 30 and then argued with Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger about who should be in charge of things in the White House situation room.

Each time, Mr. Baker and Edwin Meese 3d, the White House counselor,

managed to smooth over the conflict, sometimes defusing Mr. Haig's threats to resign and sometimes miffing White House aides' suggestions that he should be allowed to do so.

But they never were able to ease Mr. Haig's suspicion that he had an enemy somewhere within the White House hierarchy who leaked to journalists items such as one suggesting that Mr. Haig's judgment had been impaired by heart surgery that reduced the blood supply to his brain.

Mr. Haig himself increased tension between himself and the White House staff by privately telling friends that Mr. Reagan's system of having three top aides, instead of one, had created a "three-headed hydra monster."

Mr. Reagan, an administrator who dislikes personal conflict, managed to ignore all this skirmishing until he became convinced it was "very destructive" to United States diplomacy. At first he turned to journalists, calling it a breach of "patriotism" to report stories of conflict that made it appear the foreign policy team was in "disarray." Two days later, he decided to

strike at the source of the problem by summoning Mr. Allen and Mr. Haig. But by then, the Secretary had created a new controversy by telling the Senate that allied war plans for Europe included the "demonstration" detonation of a nuclear warhead — a remark contradicted by Mr. Weinberger.

It was a comedown for Mr. Haig to be treated as an equal with Mr. Allen, who lacks Cabinet rank. Although both men promised the President to put any conflict behind them, Mr. Allen did not abandon the joking that helped prod Mr. Haig to his outburst about the "guerrilla campaign." "Bring on the polygraphs," he crowed in denying that he was the mastermind of that campaign. Later, asked if he would be able to stay in his job, Mr. Allen added, "Is the Pope a Catholic and will he remain one? Of course, I'm staying on."

Mr. Haig, for his part, did not withdraw his accusation that someone at the White House was out to get him. But, after his talk with Mr. Reagan, the Secretary of State said he would not identify his adversary.

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Two Economists Debate Underlying Weakness and the Limits of Government Response

Getting Down To Basics on What Ails the U.S. Economy

EVEN Pollyanna would have been daunted by last week's economic statistics. The nation's unemployment rate leapt to 8 percent in October, the highest level in almost six years; for blacks, it hit a record. One million more people are out of work now than in July, and the recession that put them there — the second in as many years — is only expected to grow deeper. Not only were orders for new manufacturing goods down 0.9 percent in September; the biggest month-to-month rise in inventories since February was reported. In American industry's crippled bellwether, autos, sales were down 27.2 percent, for the lowest October since 1958.

The Week in Review asked Barry P. Bosworth, the former director of President Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability who is now at the Brookings Institution, and Martin S. Feldstein, a Harvard University professor and president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, to talk about the economy and its future. Excerpts of their discussion with Edward Cowan, a reporter in the Washington bureau of The New York Times, and Caroline Rand Herron, an editor of The Review, follow.

Question. Sometimes it seems that our economy just isn't working any more. Not only do we have persistent problems — inflation, recession, international competition — that don't get solved. We just find more. Do we need to redefine our economy and the way we deal with it?

Mr. Bosworth. The problems certainly have become more complex. But I don't think the economy has changed so drastically.

If the 1960's was a period where we could have a fairly singleminded focus on unemployment, the 70's became a period of conflict between reducing unemployment and trying to restrain inflation. The 80's is even more of a mess, so to speak, because we now have decline in productivity growth. The difficulty is that the policies to deal with one run into conflict with the other goals.

Q. If you put the difficulties together, would you come up with what is called stagflation?

Mr. Bosworth. The first two are certainly stagflation. But the decline in productivity growth and in real standards of living are going to require the invention of a third term. I would call it economic deterioration.

Unemployment and Expansion

Q. Mr. Feldstein, are we experiencing a recurrence of random confusions rather than basic change?

Mr. Feldstein. The problems we are seeing are not random. They are the results of the policies we pursued in the 1960's and 1970's — putting all the emphasis on lowering unemployment. That led us time after time to overexpansionary policies, which created the kind of inflation that we've come to have. For rather complex reasons, that inflation reduced and distorted investment. And that contributed to our slowdown in productivity.

Mr. Bosworth. I don't think the problem can be described so simply. I would go so far as to say that I don't think it is possible within the existing structure of the United States economy to come up with a reasonable degree of price stability at anywhere near an acceptable level of unemployment. In other words, we will have to consider sharp changes in the structure of the economy.

Mr. Feldstein. You're right. We disagree. I do believe that we can bring the inflation rate down again. It is going to require higher rates of unemployment along the way. But I think that policy is already in process and happening in the (Administration's) combination of tight money, cutbacks in Government spending and tax cuts.

Q. But isn't it true that the economy has been under restraint for two or three years in just that way?

Mr. Feldstein. We have not pursued a policy designed to convince businesses and employees that they're going to face (markets) in the year ahead that are going to be soft. That kind of situation would put pressure on firms to keep down their price increases and to be tougher in their wage negotiations, and will begin to turn things around.

Mr. Bosworth. I think economists talk too much in terms of euphemisms. What we really mean is that in the face of inflation the Federal Reserve does not expand the money supply. The increased demand for credit will throw a few million people out of work. And the notion is that if somehow pursued for a couple of years, people will see the policy is credible. I see no historical evidence for that.

In that sense Marty is right. We flip-flop too much. But I would argue that fundamentally what lies behind that is the fact that there is a conflict in the costs imposed on different groups in the society.

In addition, if we're concerned about capital formation and productivity, you are not going to get (it) in this type of an economy. We have to have a work force that is willing to accept innovation, introduction of robots. And when people are afraid for their jobs, they don't accept technological change that leads to improvements in productivity growth.

Technological Change

Mr. Feldstein. Let me say something about change and robots and all that. Fortunately we have foreign competition. We have domestic competition. Employees who say "No, we will not have robots" will soon find that their employers have no markets because somebody who is more flexible will be asked to provide those products on a cheaper, more efficient basis.

Mr. Bosworth. That's exactly what will happen.

Mr. Feldstein. You mean they'll never learn...

Mr. Bosworth. Without some guidance and assistance by Government to help people make transitions, the United States economy will look like the automobile industry. And to suggest that the economy would go through that magnitude of decline — it has gotten to the point that even if the industry now did come up with a major reduction in the rate of wage increase, the companies lack the financial resources to ever be able to catch up.

Q. In talking about autos, are we whipping the wrong horse on toward the finish line? Is that industry indicative of an important change in the American economy, a shift away from the traditional manufacturing?

Mr. Feldstein. We don't have to think about it. It'll happen anyway. The notion that we're becoming a service economy is a major structural change. The idea that there are important new industries with deep potential payoffs — one on the top of everybody's list is genetic engineering — is obvious to the investors and the scientists who are going to make all that dough. I can't imagine any reason why the Government should do anything other than keep its hands off and allow it to flower naturally.

Q. Senator Bentsen, through the Joint Economic Committee, and others, are beginning to question whether the United States has the public education system to turn out the labor force that high-speed communications and sophisticated electronics in the 1980's and 1990's will require.

Mr. Feldstein. It's probably true that we've just gotten sloppy in the last couple of decades. But (it's also) a problem of a failure to provide the kind of mechanism for on-the-job training that the European economies have provided. In part, and particularly for the low skilled, that is due to the way the minimum wage operates.



The Nation
Continued

Worker grinding engine block at a Buick foundry in Flint, Mich.

Q. What would such a mechanism look like?

Mr. Feldstein. Well there are two ways to go.

One is to say until you're 18 or 19 there is no minimum wage. Relax that on an age basis or on a one-year basis. The alternative is for Government to provide explicit subsidies for on-the-job training — voucher credits, for which we've had some minor experience.

The other end of the problem is that we probably induce too many people to go on to college. They acquire no particularly useful technical skills, but they think of themselves as not in the technician class but in the more status-carrying management, sales group. I don't think 15 years ago I would ever have thought that I would be saying there's too much higher education. Yet look at what has actually happened as a result of Government subsidies.

Mr. Bosworth. Well, I would be reluctant to conclude that in some way the United States is overinvesting in education. Instead, I would think that most of these drives of people to try to get the high-prestige white-collar jobs are a natural product of the economy. It is simply true that in a world of high unemployment, who bears most of the risk of that unemployment? Not white-collar workers.

They need to go to college. If I was a high school senior today, I would decide to go on to college. Because if I look at the labor market, it's an opportunity cost —

Mr. Feldstein. It costs the state about \$40,000 for you to go to university —

Mr. Bosworth. But what does it cost you? One answer to the problem is to say we should force...

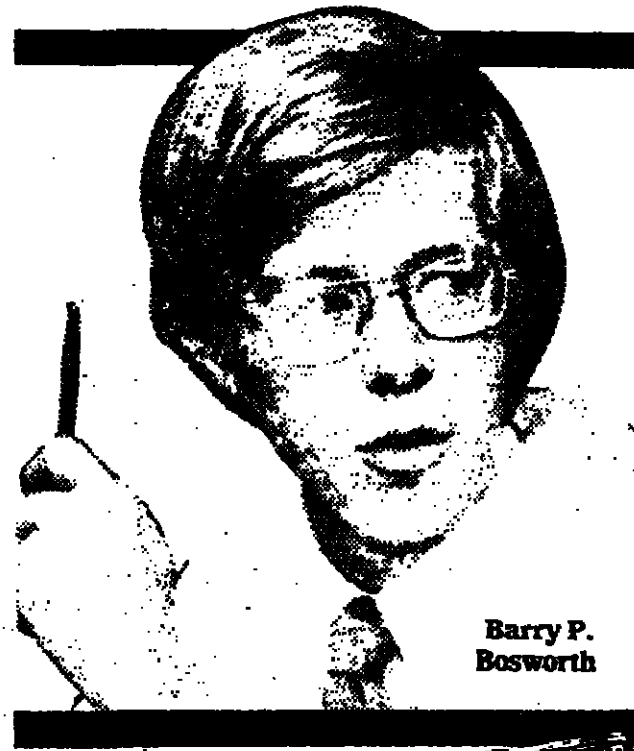
Mr. Feldstein. But that's exactly the point.

Mr. Bosworth. ...the high school graduate to go out into that labor market. But there is no job for him.

Q. Let's synthesize the question. Where is the economy going? Where are companies going? Where are unions going? And is anybody providing guidance?

Some commentators — the economist Robert L. Heilbroner, for example — suggest we can't afford entrepreneurship any more, that only through a more coordinated tripartite approach will we get our act together and forge an economy for the 21st century.

Mr. Feldstein. That's not a look into the future; that's



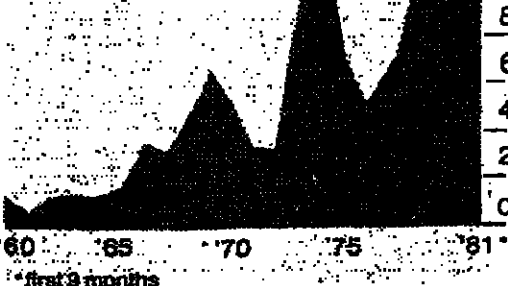
Barry P. Bosworth

هكذا من الأفضل

Unsettled conditions

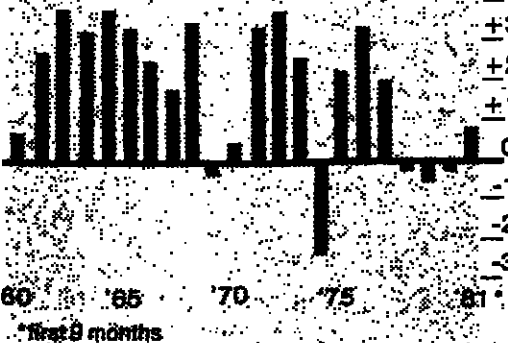
Inflation

Percent change from previous year in the Consumer Price Index for urban areas



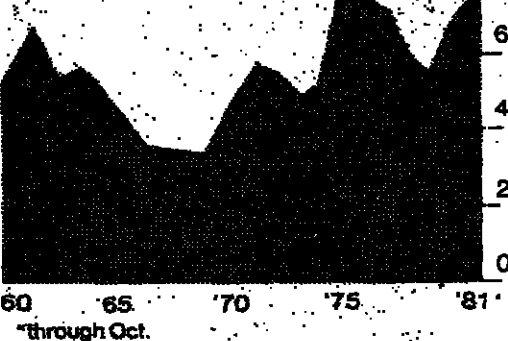
Productivity

Percent change from previous year



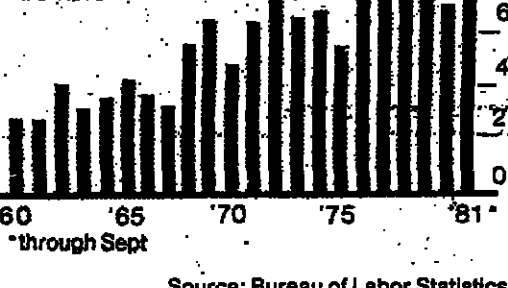
Unemployment rate

(in percent)



Wages

Percent change from previous year in weekly gross earnings of production and nonsupervisory workers



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Black Star/Michael Hayman

just a description of the postwar American economy.

I thought we had talked about the problems of getting the Government in the middle of it. The Government is political rather than economic, it is short-sighted, it has all too often shown that its horizon is the next election —

International Competition

Q. And Government can't be retrained?

Mr. Feldstein. That's an inherent fact about the political process. It's a good one, that people have to stand for re-election. So we have to learn to cope. That means that you don't assign to the Government jobs that require a longer-term view. And the economy is such a problem that ought to be left to the marketplace where people do take, can take, a longer-term view.

The third issue, the international economy and our competitiveness in the world, I think, is a real issue. But one mustn't lose sight of the fact that in general we're doing very well. Our manufacturing exports have done very well; if we weren't paying the kind of price for oil that we're paying now to the OPEC countries, we wouldn't be talking about balance-of-payments deficits.

Mr. Bosworth. The United States economic deterioration doesn't show up in terms of declining exports. It shows up in the fall of the value of the dollar.

It's hard to overstate how badly our economy has done in the 1970's. Because of the productivity decline (real) income today is about 25 percent lower than it would have been if we had managed to continue to grow the way we did in the early 60's. What is the barrier? It's the fear of inflation. We know how to create more jobs.

Mr. Feldstein. Didn't you charge subjects in the middle? You said that we've had low growth of productivity and income. Correct. And we know how to create employment, by easier money and fiscal stimulants. Also correct. But that doesn't raise the growth of productivity.

Mr. Bosworth. An economy which is growing rapidly and has high utilization of existing capacity and relatively low interest rates is precisely the type of economy that promotes capital formation.

Mr. Feldstein. No, that's exactly how we got it wrong in the last two decades. We thought that telling the Fed to promote low interest rates by rapid growth of the money supply would somehow be helpful for investment. In fact what we did was create inflation, and that inflation interacted with the tax law to reduce the amount of investment.

I think that the new approach to macroeconomic policy — a combination of tight money but strong fiscal incentives for business investment — will produce investment. The tight money will curtail housing, consumer durable spending, and will induce people to save more. But business, although it's facing a higher cost of funds, will have an added incentive to invest because of the very rapid acceleration of depreciation Congress has enacted.

Q. But unemployment is an unacceptable way to many of combating inflation. Is some kind of incomes policy — such as James Tobin, the Nobel laureate, and others have been talking about — a workable approach?

Mr. Bosworth. One of the major differences I have with Marty's prescription comes in this area. We have a lot of savings in our economy already. The difficulty is that most of (it's) going to finance Government deficits.

Mr. Feldstein. No, no, no, no. Let's at least keep the facts reasonable. We have a very low savings rate and the Government is taking a large share of it.

Mr. Bosworth. If we want to get the total amount of savings up to make it available for business investment, the fastest and most direct way that I know to do that is to cut back on Government borrowing and to shift to a more restrictive fiscal policy.

Mr. Feldstein. We agree completely that getting rid of the Government deficit would be a good thing. I wouldn't stop there. We want to increase private savings as well or we would still end up with a low amount of funds available for private investment.

Mr. Bosworth. But there is a difference in what you place first. The real problem is not that we have too low a level of savings. With high levels of underutilization of existing capacity, there's no reason for business to invest.

The United States has to give business the expectation of a strong economy where funds (will be) at reasonable cost. The barrier is that we try to hold down on demand, to fight inflation. That gets us incomes policies, to encourage wage and price restraint other than through high levels of unemployment.

Incomes Policy Record

The historical record of those (means) is not good. But there are a couple of lessons we have learned. One of the big errors was that the advocates of incomes policy looked upon it as a substitute for fiscal and monetary restraint.

The real issue is whether there's a role for incomes policy to play in the middle area: Can we have a moderate level of demand, not the extremely high unemployment rate we have today, but something more in the range of 5 or 6 percent, and an effective incomes policy?

Mr. Feldstein. Barry has just explained why incomes policy would be so terrible. Because once you had it you would then define full employment as 5 or 6 percent unemployment and that would probably represent substantial excess demand and you would not know it.

I don't think that one can say, let's put in the wage and price controls in some form — incomes policy, to give it a more polite name — and then run a mildly slack economy. I think the political system won't allow that.

Mr. Bosworth. I look at it as basically a problem of trying to enunciate that the policies we're going to have to undertake are going to be costly in the short run, but they are of a magnitude that offer some long-term hope. And second, whatever the restraint is going to be, and the sacrifices, everybody's going to bear it equally — that it's going to be spread across the population. You can get political support to sustain such a policy for a couple of years.

Mr. Feldstein. What has changed since the early 1960's, when we had no inflation?

Unions have gotten weaker, so it can't be the unions. The economy has become much more open to competition from abroad, so it can't be that we have protected monopolies. I can't think of what there is that should make it impossible for us to return to the low levels of inflation that we enjoyed for quite a while before things got out of hand during the Vietnam War.

Mr. Bosworth. We could return to low levels of inflation in the early 1980's by a decade of major recessions.

Vulnerability to Inflation

Mr. Feldstein. Sorry, the issue was if we got (inflation) down. You and I agree that there is a transition problem, that substantial slack would get it down. You then said when we got it down we need an incomes policy.

Mr. Bosworth. That's right.

Mr. Feldstein. I don't see why. There's nothing that has made the economy more inflation prone, and if we don't repeat mistakes in monetary and fiscal policy —

Mr. Bosworth. But there are things that have changed. In the 50's and the 60's, the United States almost never faced the magnitude of international disruptions to major commodity markets that we had in the 70's.

I don't think we can continue to allow labor contracts to be negotiated on a three-year basis with a cost-of-living escalator. The automobile industry got into trouble not because the workers suddenly negotiated large wage increases. They negotiated a formula that unexpectedly, and by accident, produced large increases that neither of the two parties had perceived at negotiation. That pushed them into a noncompetitive position.

Mr. Feldstein. Would the Government have conceived it differently? Is there so much wisdom here?

Mr. Bosworth. That's not the issue. The issue is whether or not Government can restructure the economy by moving away from long-term indexing of labor contracts, so that private markets are more in a position to respond more quickly to changing economic circumstances.

Mr. Feldstein. I don't think we know enough to say outlawing that kind of contract will be anti-inflationary.

Mr. Bosworth. Or alternatively we go to year-by-year contracting, as has been done in some European countries, such as Germany. My position would be that you simply can't anticipate these things anymore, and it is a mistake



Martin S. Feldstein

Photographs by The New York Times/Thomas Thibault

for both labor and management to enter into these sorts of long-term agreements, which are risky, as Marty says.

Mr. Feldstein. Then they'll discover it.

Q. Mr. Bosworth, is that a sufficient inflation?

Mr. Bosworth. The question is the speed with which we adjust. Could we go to a system, for example, where it's one-year negotiations for individual industries, preceded at the beginning of the year by some meeting with Government, labor and business officials to talk about the economic situation, and they can have a time to assess?

Mr. Feldstein. If industry and labor sat down with (Administration) forecasters in the summer, they would have been told one outlook — very high growth of demand. And if they went across town to the Fed, they would have been given a lower and less expansionary story. If they went up to (the Hill), they would have had a different story. Which (are) they supposed to act on?

Q. Mr. Bosworth, you're talking about more than information conveying, aren't you?

Mr. Bosworth. It can often be helpful between two private parties with a history of conflict to have a third party come in and look at it differently. It's easier for labor, I think, to accept the fact that the situation has changed when they have some discussion of their position in the economy from an outside factor than from hearing it from management that says it's inevitable.

Mr. Feldstein. I think the last outside factor they ought to get is the Government. The Government isn't a neutral expert. If they want to get an outside consultant, they ought to go to somebody who is not a party.

Mr. Bosworth. On whether or not it ought to be just the Government, maybe it is too political. You could think of setting up a third group that tries to warn the parties about economic situations, discuss some of the issues they face. They've got to get out of the historical situation of just conflict between management and the workers.

The Economy

The boom in computers has spawned even faster growth in the programs that make the hardware work. They are like the movie on a film, the music on a record.

By ANDREW POLLACK

I can turn a scruffy youngster with a bright idea into a millionaire, and a gleaming scientific project like the space shuttle into a failure. People working at home can produce it, as can high-paid employees of giant corporations, providing they can bring both artistic creativity and detailed, logical drudgery to the task. It is part product, part service—an unusual combination that governments have not figured out how to tax it.

It is computer software, the programs that make a computer do what it's told. Once an incidental business for the booming computer industry, software and related computer services are becoming as big a business as computers themselves.

According to the International Data Corporation, a computer company based in Framingham, Mass., sales of software and other such services by American companies totaled \$13.14 billion last year, half as large as sales of all types of computer hardware, from big mainframe computers to printers and terminals. By 1985, the company estimates, it will be a \$33.8 billion business, 60 percent as large as the hardware business.

While these figures indicate it will be some time before software eclipses hardware in terms of dollar sales, software expenditures are actually already exceeding sales of all hardware because a lot of computer users do much of their own programming.

Software is a difficult product to put a finger on. If a stereo system is thought of as hardware, the music it plays is the software. It may come on a record, a cassette or over the radio. In any case, the value is not in the plastic or the tape, but in the music itself. Similarly, computer programs, which are long and detailed lists of instructions, at times in the form of equations, can be sold on a tape or a disk or written on a piece of paper or even sent over telephone lines. But the value and the price is in the program and what it does, not what it's written on.

As recently as 15 years ago, computer companies virtually gave away the software they sold with their machines, or it was written by the users of computers. That was when computers cost millions of dollars and were used only by large corporations and government agencies that could afford to hire programmers.

Since then, the economics of the computer industry have turned upside down. The price of hardware has plunged, so that some computers cost only a few hundred dollars. But the cost of programming, which is labor intensive, has risen, both relative to hardware and in absolute dollar levels, aided by a shortage of programmers.

At the same time, the shrinking price of computers has expanded their use to small businesses and consumers, who lack the specialized knowledge to write programs and can't hire programmers.

That has led to a demand for programs that can do such things as keep track of inventory in a hardware store, record hotel phone bills and other room charges, turn data into colorful

charts and graphs and perform complex accounting and payroll computing for companies. And there are some computer programs whose purpose is to make it easier to write other programs. The key to selling computers is rapidly becoming the quality and availability of such programs. "I think as you move into the 1980's and 1990's, you can take hardware for granted," said Arthur J. Schneider, staff vice president and general manager of the Sperry Corporation's research center in Sudbury, Mass.

Hardware vendors are scrambling to strengthen their position in software by buying software companies or by recruiting them to write programs to run on their machines—and not on those of their competitors.

Even the International Business Machines Corporation, the largest computer company by far, is appealing to outside software companies for aid in developing software. Less than two weeks ago, I.B.M. played host to representatives of 70 of those companies, exhorting them to write programs for I.B.M. machines, saying, "We're ready to deal." The theme of the conference, according to attendees, was

Fifteen years ago, companies gave away software they sold with their machines.

"There's a new world coming."

At Bell Laboratories, the research arm of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, 40 to 50 percent of new hires are for software-related work, more than twice the level of the early 1970's, while Western Electric, Bell's manufacturing arm, is building a special center for software in Illinois.

Despite all this, the software industry is still an infant. According to Jorgensen, a market research firm, there were more than 4,300 companies in the computer services, or software, business. Yet, only 147 of them had revenues over \$10 million in 1980. The seven largest software vendors were all hardware companies, led by I.B.M. with \$386 million in United States software sales.

The next largest group were processing services companies, most of which have been around for more than 10 years. Those companies, like Automatic Data Processing, do computer tasks for clients or rent them time on their computers—a process known as timesharing. The next largest segment of the industry is for contract, or customized, software.

Sales of standard software packages totaled only \$2.6 billion in 1980, and the largest company in that area—Management Science America Inc. of Atlanta—had overall revenues of \$51.7 million.

Yet, that is the segment of the mar-

ket that is growing the fastest—at 30 percent a year—because the costs of writing programs can be spread over many users.

But even as the software business grows, it is becoming increasingly perilous, especially for the smaller companies. Many of them have survived because software has been a customized product and companies could capture a local customer base. But with the emergence of standard products, national marketing can occur, bringing too many competitors offering similar products into collision.

"I will make a prediction that a year from today there will be 150 financial modeling packages available for microcomputers," said Richard L. Crandall, president of Comshare, Inc., a time-sharing company. "There will be a shakeout. Competition is a client having 10 choices. One hundred choices is ridiculous."

Already a consolidation is occurring in the new packaged software industry. Just as the oil companies are finding that it is cheaper to buy other oil companies than to explore for new oil, so the larger computer services and hardware companies are finding it easier to buy other software companies than to develop their own new products.

"New software gets developed by hungry entrepreneurs that develop it by self-exploitation," said Gilbert Mintz, a partner in Broadview Associates, consultant on computer service industry mergers, based in Fort Lee, N.J. The company says that in the first six months of this year, there were 57 acquisitions valued at \$244 million, compared with 42 worth \$184 million in the same period of 1980.

Other companies, particularly in the personal computer software market, are acquiring the rights to market products, in effect, becoming publishers of software. Some analysts think the software business for personal computers will evolve to look like the record or book industries, with a few large publishers acquiring products from outsiders, editing them and marketing them.

While many smaller companies in specialized areas are being bought, to give them marketing clout, others are going public to get the money to set up their own marketing staffs and to grow by acquisition. But not all software companies are sure bets, warns Esther Dyson, a computer-services analyst with Oppenheimer & Company.

"It depends primarily on the quality of the management," she said. "Because you have a lot of small companies you have a lot that have not developed their management."

As an example of a lack of management control, she cited an incident this year at Tymshare Inc., considered one of the more innovative companies in the computer-services industry. The company thought one of its programs was being heavily used by its customers. But it was actually the company's own engineers trying to fix errors in the program. The company, however, said the mistake had little effect on its business.

As another example, American Management Systems, of Arlington, Va., jumped into the packaged software business with three products and became overextended. It has lost \$3.9 million in packaged software in the first nine months of 1980, enough to pull the entire company into the red. "We perhaps attempted to seize too many opportunities at the same time," Charles O. Rossotti, president, said.

It is reasonable to assume that as the value of software grows, I.B.M. will move more in that direction. Right now, as the recent meeting illustrated, even I.B.M. cannot possibly write enough programs for all applications and needs the independent software companies. Eventually though, the computer giant could develop its own programs in lucrative areas. I.B.M. has already moved into the area of computer-aided design and manufacturing, becoming the No. 2

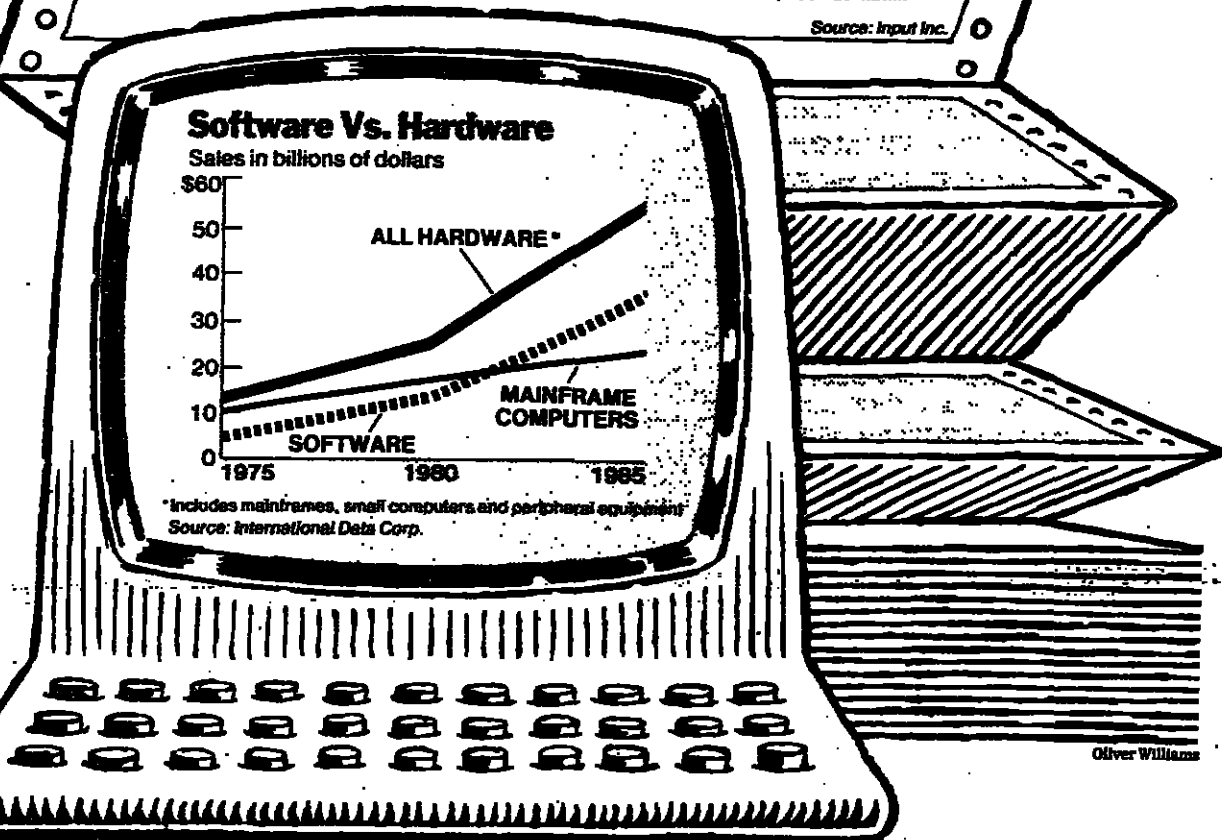
player in the market and putting severe pressure on some smaller companies in that area.

Key Players in Software

Leading Companies * Customized Software	1980 Sales from Custom Software (in millions)	Their Business
Computer Sciences	\$337	A software pioneer with volatile history. Sells services primarily to NASA, the Navy and other Government agencies. In February, a court dismissed charges that company had been overcharging.
Planning Research	77	Provides computer services and other consulting in engineering and construction, energy management and urban planning. Earnings have been erratic.
CACI	35	Three-quarters of its sales come from computer analysis for the Government of weapons systems, military logistics support and the nation's economy.
American Management Systems	30	A custom software and time-sharing company. An ambitious leap into standard software has dragged it into the red.
Logicon	27	Provides engineering and software for missile guidance and control and other strategic, tactical systems, which accounts for two-thirds of its revenues.

Leading Companies * Package Software	1980 Sales from Package Software (in millions)	Their Business
Management Science America	41	Sells software for personal and financial management. Went public in April and in June acquired Peachtree Software, which provides financial management programs.
Wyly	27	Sells companies time-sharing and packaged software for financial and manufacturing management. Reported severe losses following unsuccessful effort to form data-communications business.
Informatics	26	Evenly spread among packaged software, customized software and processing services. Seems to have recovered after string of losses in mid-70's.
Pansophic Systems	24	Sells data-base management systems software that runs on I.B.M. computers and facilitates retrieval of data.
Cullinane	21	Offers data retrieval systems running on I.B.M. computers. Is now branching out into applications programs for banking and manufacturing.

*Excludes companies that derive a major part of their revenues from hardware sales, such as I.B.M.
Source: Input Inc.



partner in a move toward interstate banking.

Greenwich Savings of New York was merged with Metropolitan Savings, averting possible failure of Greenwich.

The prime rate was cut by some major banks to 17 percent. Earlier in the week, most of them had reduced the key lending rate a half point to 17 1/2 percent.

Retail chain stores reported meager October sales gains. Sales at Sears were up 2.1 percent. Woolworth and Montgomery Ward sales for the month slipped from October 1980.

New orders for manufactured goods fell nine-tenths of a percent in September.

The trade deficit on a balance-of-payments basis grew to \$7.2 billion in the third quarter despite a drop in oil imports.

The money supply fell sharply, by \$3.3 billion, in the latest reporting week, the Federal Reserve said.

Stocks marked time. The Dow Jones industrial average closed at 852.45, off 0.10 for the week. Bond prices surged in heavy trading.

THE WEEK IN BUSINESS

The Unemployment Ranks Grow

The unemployment rate soared to 8 percent of the work force in October from 7.5 percent the month before, the Labor Department said. The figure means that more than 8.5 million people were out of work.

President Reagan abandoned his long-standing goal of a balanced budget by 1984. He also said he would consider new taxes in 1983 and 1984.

New-car sales plunged 19.7 percent in the last 10 days of October and 27.2 percent for the month, the Big Three auto makers reported. The results mean that 1981 sales will probably come in lower than 1980's.

G.M. delayed plans to start up a \$500 million assembly plant in Hamtramck, Mich. The company also declared its regular quarterly dividend of 60 cents.

International Harvester is temporarily suspending operations next month at 16 plants in the United States and three in Canada.

Polaroid plans to cut 1,000 from its 17,000-member work force early next year.

Steelmakers in five foreign countries will be accused of unfair trade practices, the United States said.

A New Chief for VW

Volkswagen, struggling to revive sales and profits, tapped a new chairman last week. He is Carl H. Hahn (right), 55 years old, who now runs West Germany's biggest rubber company, Continental Gummiwerke. Mr. Hahn won the recommendation of a committee of VW's board to succeed Toni Schmücker, 60, who suffered a heart attack last June and who had asked to be relieved of his post. Mr. Schmücker revived VW after the oil price rises and auto slumps of the early 70's. The company has again fallen on difficult times with problems in the American auto operation and at its office-machine subsidiary.



I.B.M. will pay Ford up to \$200 million for the right to use some of Ford's investment tax credits and depreciation deductions.

Marathon Oil rejected a \$5 billion bid by Mobil, and a Federal judge in Ohio, citing antitrust considerations, temporarily restrained Mobil from proceeding.

Deane Petroleum said Beaufort Sea oil drilling indicated potential recover-

able reserves of 3.8 billion barrels, disappointing many analysts. Dome also plans to buy the 47 percent of Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas it doesn't already own.

Bestrice Foods plans to purchase the beverage operations of Northwest Industries for \$80 million in cash.

Chemical Bank was selected by Florida National Bank, a bank-holding company, as its proposed merger

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED NOV. 6, 1981 (Consolidated)				MARKET DIARY			
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	Advances	Last Week	Prev. Week	
MarOwl	4,356,400	67 1/4	+19 1/4	Declines	1,313	1,218	
Exxon	3,938,800	30 1/4	+ 1/4	Total Issues	617	639	
IBM	3,123,800	50 1/4	+ 1/4	New Highs	2,130	2,115	
Mobil	2,662,300	25	- 1/4	New Lows	118	80	
SonyCo	2,558,900	19	+ 1/4				
Glaxo	2,481,100	39 1/4	+ 1/4				
ATT	2,157,500	59 1/4	- 1/4				
Chirp	2,099,800	28 1/4	+ 1/4				
Tandy	2,081,800	37	+ 1/4				
StoInd	2,074,700	53	+ 1/4				
SfEnt	2,071,800	48	+ 1/4				
ChSvc	2,027,800	52 1/4	+ 1/4				
CampT	1,789,200	22 1/4	- 1/4				
AelPw	1,785,700	16 1/4	+ 1/4				
Boeing	1,703,700	25	+ 1/4				

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)			
High	Low	Last	Change	Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date	
New York Stock Exchange				Total Sales	287,350,048	10,173,873,454	
Indust	82.58	80.97	80.97	Same Per. 1980	209,885,860	9,547,807,753	
Transp	69.21	67.79	67.92				
Util	40.31	39.96	40.00				
Finance	78.39	75.36	76.75				
Composite	72.58	71.33	71.33				

ChlPer	2,069,800	25 1/2	+	+	Same Per. 1980 = 2,000,000,000 1,997,001,793			
Tandy	2,061,000	37	+	+				
STOInd	2,074,700	53	+	+2 1/2				
SFeInt	2,071,900	48	+	+1 1/2				
CBISvc	2,027,800	52 1/2	+	+4 1/2				
CampT	1,788,200	22 1/2	-	-1 1/2				
AelPwr	1,785,700	16 1/2	+	+				
Boeing	1,703,200	25	+	+ 1/2				

The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED NOVEMBER 6, 1981 (Consolidated)				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
DomeP	2,350,000	11 1/4	- 1/4	

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				MARKET DIARY			
High	Low	Last	Change	Advances	Last Week	Prev. Week	
Standard & Poor's				Declines	506	446	
400 Indust	140.8	135.8	135.7	Total Issues	307	323	
20 Transp	22.5	21.6	21.9	New Highs	929	912	
40 Util	54.0	52.9	53.3	New Lows	49	24	
40 Finance	15.2	14.8	15.0				
500 Stocks	128.0	121.8	122.8				

Dow Jones				VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)			
Indust	Last	Change		Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date	
30 Indust	876.0	847.5	852.4	Total Sales	28,167,980	1,182,522,040	
20 Transp	390.3	375.3	383.1	Same Per. 1980	34,083,425	1,384,006,800	
15 Util	108.4	106.8	107.5				
65 Comb	380.7	341.1	343.1				

BROADWAY 80

I'm glad I changed...

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One Tax Fable Was Enough

High interest rates and the recession they induced have also created a healthy crisis for Reaganomics. The Administration can cut taxes and increase military spending, but it cannot then shrink the deficit enough to let the Federal Reserve rely on interest rates. The current deficit is climbing toward \$100 billion. What's worse, even after the recession lifts, the deficits are destined to grow rather than disappear, as originally promised, by 1984.

Ironically, the 1982 deficit is something of a blessing. It will speed up recovery from recession. But large 1983 and 1984 deficits will haunt that recovery, threatening either wild inflation or more recession-bound interest rates. So the President's men are locked in anguished debate: how will they ever produce the Reagan boom?

Budget Director Stockman thinks it's time to abandon the faith that 1981 tax cuts will produce a timely boom to refill the Federal coffers. He wants to plan now for a tax increase of \$60-80 billion, while pressing Congress to cut the budget again by about the same amount. Treasury Secretary Regan, however, clings to the old religion. He thinks the tax cuts of 1981 will bear full fruit in 1983-4 and fears that any reverse of direction would only stall the recovery. He would keep asking for more budget cuts and settle for a trickle of excise tax increases.

The President indicated Friday night that he leans toward the Treasury, whose plan has the added

attraction of not hurting Republicans who run for Congress next year with talk of tax increases. But if he delays too long, the President could lose all chance of rescuing his first-term economic performance.

The Treasury's strategy can never shrink the deficit enough to restrain interest rates. Trying to recover \$200 billion more through spending cuts by 1984 would destroy not only the safety net for the poor but the social fabric itself. The Treasury says economic growth will then save the day. But that is the same wishful thinking that forecast buoyant growth for this period of recession.

President Reagan can forget about 1982; the recession makes the pending deficit bearable, even desirable. But come the recovery, he will have wished he had listened to Mr. Stockman. If election-year jitters prevent definition of a credible tax strategy in the next few weeks, interest rates will start climbing again right along with production in mid-year.

Key Republicans in Congress understand the predicament. They want the White House to point toward substantial new revenues from taxes and a defense spending stretch-out by 1983. Some are even debating the types of tax increases that would be best. Those increases need not discourage investment, only consumption.

Any tax increase, of course, mocks the fable that Government spending itself has been the cause of the nation's economic troubles. Mr. Reagan bet once on that myth. Surely once is enough.

After Prisons, What?

The debate over New York's \$500 million prison bond issue pitted those who want more cells against those who want to solve crowding with better management. The vote approving the bond was so close that victory is still not certain — and officials who campaigned vigorously for it should read the slim majority as a mixed mandate: yes, build urgently needed cells, but do something about management, too.

Criminal justice management is murky territory for politicians. It's easy to explain a prison to the voter; management issues are complex and fraught with uncertainty. Consider two examples:

□ **Trial Delays.** Everybody agrees that delays are a major cause of crowding in city jails. In March, Chief Judge Lawrence Cooke launched a major effort to expand criminal courts and move cases along more rapidly. It has made some difference, but hasn't kept up with indictments, and judges are looking for new ways to get control of calendars.

In one sense, the issue is technical: the law permits defendants to count time in jail before trial against any ultimate sentence. That encourages offenders — who prefer to stay in local jails close to

family and friends — to use every trick to avoid trial.

□ **Alternate Treatment.** To use costly prison space only for those who really need it, judges and corrections officials require a range of options for convicts. Those deemed nonviolent might be sentenced to rehabilitative programs in the community. This happens some in New York now, but could be greatly expanded. Community corrections, however, can be no more effective than the probationary supervision of released offenders. And that, according to a recent city audit, is poor.

Such management problems are not mysterious. Judge Cooke is on the right track in rotating judges and resisting dilatory defense tactics. Experiments with better probation are underway. The law giving credit for jail-time could be modified.

But so far, there is no leadership for a broadly coordinated effort. Such an initiative should come from Governor Carey and Mayor Koch. A sense of urgency about the need for prison space brought them and other high officials together in the bond campaign. Tuesday's vote, whatever its final outcome, makes clear the need for an equal commitment to management.

Liars and Cheats

How much do Americans cheat in daily life? A lot, today by a report in Psychology Today on a survey that attracted 24,100 replies, the largest response the magazine has ever received.

Almost all admit they drive faster than the speed limit. Two-thirds admit to taking office supplies home. More acknowledge cheating on their spouses (45 percent) than cheating on their taxes (39 percent). One in three admits to staying home from work when not really sick. One in five admits to cutting into lines.

All this suggests that we are becoming a land of liars, with an easy tolerance of deceit. Yet there are some silver linings.

There may be something redemptive about what people say they regret. For instance, 84 percent say they feel guilty about their infidelities — while only 59 percent feel guilty about their tax statements. It is no defense of tax fraud to think that, on some scale of moral reckoning, cheating on one's spouse should count more heavily.

Similar ethical gradations are implicit in the responses to various hypothetical situations. Would you drive away after scratching a car without telling the owner? Yes or Probably: 44 percent. Would you

keep \$10 extra change at a local supermarket? Yes or Probably: 26 percent. Would you accept praise for another's work? Yes or Probably: only 4 percent.

There are distinctions between the slight harm done by a scratch and the potentially great damage done by stealing credit; between injuring an organization, or no one in particular, and hurting a specific person. The sensitivity to degrees of deceit shows that people know right from wrong, even if they don't always act morally on that knowledge.

These may be distinctions without a difference. In her tenacious 1978 book, "Lying," Sissela Bok reminded us that when we spend our lives surrounded by many kinds of deception, from euphemism to deliberate duplicity, "We may end up by tolerating even certain practices of outright lying without knowing how to distinguish them from those that we reject out of hand."

Still, there is the basis for at least some reassurance in the cheating study. It was anonymous, yet even so, why were so many people ready — eager — to participate? Precisely because they know they have transgressed, because they regret it and because they wish absolution. Even confession by questionnaire can be good for the soul.

Topics

Blindly To and Fro

Computer Braille

The computer punch card, as Time magazine notes, is disappearing; now New York Telephone has started sending out bills without them. For a generation, the punch card was a primary way to feed data into computers, but also a symbol. The standard injunction, "Do not fold, spindle or mutilate," became a reverse slogan for humanism. Franksters punched in their own little rectangular holes to confuse the computer's sense of touch.

Now, such computer braille is yielding rapidly to computer eyesight. Optical scanners can read the clunky numbers at the bottom of a check or the stripes on a uniform product code label.

It won't be long before computers won't even need glasses; they are

learning to read micro-encoding, ordinary print, even handwriting.

Still, the punch card endures in some places. For instance, the Times reported this week that four rural counties in New Jersey continue to use punch-card ballot systems — and that raised a nostalgic thought.

We found ourselves half-hoping that the outcome of the governor's race finally turns on the presence or absence of a few little rectangular punches, tangible holes in tangible cards, symbols no longer of impersonality but of an earlier, simpler time.

Death at an Early Age

By now it's a familiar refrain: if juvenile crime is on the rise, don't fool around with goody-goody programs

for youthful offenders; prosecute them as adults.

In Vermont, where folks normally take pride in their independence and caution, lawmakers went for the idea in a big way: not content to lower the age for adult criminality to 16, as countless states have done, they moved it all the way back to 10.

That was in July. Now Vermonters are having second thoughts, for a salient reason: the state still permits the death penalty, and the new law makes it possible to execute fourth graders. Having belatedly focused on this point, the legislators may now decide to modify the law.

We don't approve of the death penalty in any case, but the absurdity of this situation serves as an important reminder: no matter how mean their behavior, children must be treated as children.

Letters

Chad: An O.A.U.-Sponsored Setback for Qaddafi

To the Editor:

Media reports that Libyan troops are leaving Chad, in response to a request by President Goukouni, raise the prospect of favorable immediate and long-range consequences of more than passing interest.

Given Colonel Qaddafi's well-known strategic vision, as well as his tactical success over the past 10 months in using armed dissidents on Chad's eastern border to prolong his military presence, it is understandable that these reports should be greeted with initial skepticism. However, President Goukouni's summoning of the Libyans to leave is the indispensable signal that the Libyans will indeed have to leave.

Goukouni's action would not have been possible without the persistent pressure within the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) on Qaddafi to respect Chadian sovereignty — i.e., to pledge to withdraw his troops when asked to do so — and O.A.U. steps to organize and deploy an African peace-keeping force to neutralize the threat on Chad's eastern border.

But the deeper significance of President Goukouni's courageous public call for Libyan withdrawal lies in how it came about and the lessons to be learned on how to bring about similar lessening of tensions elsewhere.

It should be noted, for example, that the underlying political force is nation-

alism. The lesson is that the power of nationalism, even in a benighted and deeply divided country like Chad, could not be subverted by Libyan wealth or subdued by the best arms and technicians Libyan petrodollars could buy — and not only from the Russians. Diplomatically, the mere request that the Libyans leave Chad undercuts Qaddafi's claim of legitimacy for his military presence.

This presence, especially in eastern Chad, provided the springboard for Libyan military operations against Chadian rebels based in Sudan, which had destabilizing effects on Sudan itself. The withdrawal of Libyans from this region will lessen the military pressure against Sudan and, incidentally, give more time for a considered response to Egyptian and Sudanese pleas for enhanced security assistance and assurances.

But perhaps most notable of the lessons is that Libyan withdrawal will have been achieved by means of diplomatic and economic leverage.

The Libyan forces that have dominated Chad for nearly a year aroused growing resentment, as foreign forces invariably do wherever nationalism is vigorous and vibrant.

It is true that the Libyans were invited into Chad in June 1969 by the same President Goukouni when he was unable to dislodge the rebel forces

of his ex-Minister of Defense, Hissen Habre, without outside assistance. But as soon as an alternative African force was found for holding off the rebels, and once realistic prospects of large-scale economic and technical assistance for reconstruction were identified, the Libyans were invited out.

The costs will be considerable: \$70 million has been the price tag for putting the peacekeeping force in place, and the French are said to have offered \$500 million "without conditions" for reconstruction and development. Still, while the sums are substantial, they pale by comparison with the purely military costs to Egypt and Sudan, as well as the U.S., of trying to counter Libyan adventurism in the deserts of eastern Chad.

Everyone who favors peaceful solutions to problems will sense a debt of gratitude to the O.A.U. and to France for the diplomatic, political and economic initiatives that have made possible the public summons to Libya to withdraw its troops from Chad. They have thereby opened the way toward relieving tensions in the Middle East and central Africa, reducing military pressures on Sudan and requiring Libya to retreat.

DONALD R. NORLAND
Granham, N.H., Nov. 3, 1981

The writer was U.S. Ambassador to Chad in 1979-81.

Prayers Burdened With Earthly Missions

To the Editor:

In your issue of Oct. 20, a news story by David Shipley states that in Old Jerusalem prayer can be an incendiary act. In Jerusalem, as elsewhere in the Near East, prayer is not an incendiary act, it is a proprietary act.

To pray in a specific place can become the basis for religious title to that place. It is the attempt to appropriate someone else's religious place that is incendiary, not the prayer.

On the Ninth of Av, I too was in Jerusalem and was refused entrance to the Temple Mount. I happened to walk to the Mount behind a group of about 40 Jews who were attempting to enter onto the Mount for prayer. The police refused them entrance and closed the gate for the rest of the day to prevent incidents.

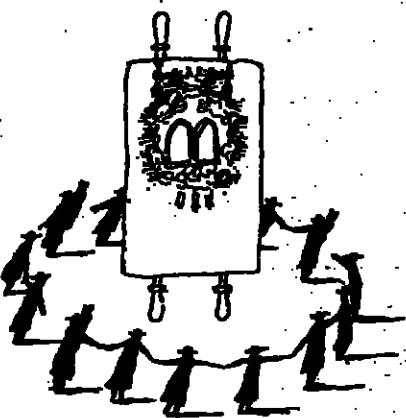
The members of the group, wearing skull caps and prayer shawls and carrying prayer books, were there for communal public prayer. One of the group carried a large, veiled scroll of the size and kind that is used for public readings in the synagogue.

As The Jerusalem Post reported, this was not just any group. They were members of the Gush Emunim, a group of religious and political zealots who have tried repeatedly to establish settlements on occupied Arab lands on the West Bank. By their actions they have shown their willingness to use force to advance their claims.

Mr. Shipley also refers to the Shrine of Omar on the Temple Mount as the Mosque of Omar. This would be a trivial point were it not for the fact that there is a Mosque of Omar else-

where in Jerusalem whose founding and history point out a tradition of Moslem religious toleration that too often goes unnoticed.

When the Caliph Omar occupied the



Mark Podwal

city in 638, he was invited by the patriarch to pray in the church now called the Holy Sepulcher. He refused on the ground that subsequent rulers could use his prayer in the basilica as justification for taking title to the building. He asked for a small plot of land outside the door, and it was given to him.

The Mosque of Omar still stands inconspicuously alongside the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. It serves as a symbol of a religious toleration again being threatened by zealots.

(Rev.) DAVID K. O'ROURKE
Professor of Pastoral Theology
Graduate Theological Union
Berkeley, Calif., Oct. 26, 1981

Great Emancipator And Master of Timing

To the Editor:

In his letter published on Oct. 27, "The Great (Piecemeal) Emancipator," Neal Adams states that Abraham Lincoln never bowed to abolitionist pressures to call for the total release of all slaves. Maintaining that the Civil War President's emancipation policy was "pragmatic, political and piecemeal," and that slavery still existed at the time of Lincoln's death, one might infer that the Great Emancipator was hardly deserving of his fame.

The facts are very different. To say that Lincoln did not bow to the demands of the radicals is meaningless because in many ways he agreed with them. The man who said, "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong," did not have to be harangued by the abolitionists. That he was more cautious and better attuned to political realities is true, but that does not mean that he did not favor freedom.

By making use of radical pressures to overcome conservative obstruction, he steadily moved toward an ever-more inclusive policy of emancipation. If this was in fact a "pragmatic, political and piecemeal" policy, it was the brilliant tactic of a master of the art of timing.

And contrary to Mr. Adams' assertion, in the end Lincoln did indeed call for the "total release of all slaves." He not only ran for a second term on a platform endorsing the 13th Amendment but used the enormous powers of his office to secure its adoption. Without his pressure, the constitutional sanction for permanent, universal emancipation could never have been passed. That he was killed before it was ratified was not his fault.

Firmly committed to freedom, Lincoln created the political climate that made its attainment possible. For this achievement, he truly deserves the name of Great Emancipator.

HANS L. TREFOUSSE
Professor of History, Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, Oct. 31, 1981

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

The Power of Washington's Israel Lobby

To the Editor:

Your Nov. 1 editorial "Beneath the Awacs," giving your view of anti-Jewish racism and the Awacs vote, has outright accused me of such racism. That charge is as untrue as it is outrageous, and I believe you owe me an apology. Additionally, this is a question of considerable importance that should be dealt with head-on.

Israel's Washington lobby has made a practice of wrapping its considerable political activities in a flag of Judaism, covering itself with a coat of armor that few Americans wish to penetrate. Then, anyone who criticizes Israel's policies or practices can be silenced with the charge of racism. This tactic, along with outright political intimidation, has worked quite well on most people.

Over the years, Israel has operated in its own interest throughout the U.S. Government with little or no criticism from the press or from politicians.

I know the results of such intimidation first-hand and from former Senate colleagues who have privately expressed to me their desire to be as outspoken as I have been on U.S. policies vis-à-vis Israel. If you have trouble convincing yourself that Israel's Government calls the shots in lobbying efforts on its behalf, try sitting in the Senate when Israel wants to pass or to defeat an issue.

When, for example, B'nai B'rith representatives join the battle for American Indian rights or against defamation of American Jews, it is a Jewish lobby operating in the highest traditions of our political system. But when it lobbies senators for arms for Israel, it becomes a lobby for a foreign power.

No amount of finger-pointing by The Times or shedding of crocodile tears

by senators trying to make points with that lobby can alter that basic truth. Neither B'nai B'rith nor its lobbying partners, including the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and the American Jewish Committee, are entitled to immunity from criticism on either ethnic or religious grounds when they do the Israeli Government's work in Washington.

While I will applaud and support The Times in any effort it might make to end racism against Jews, I would think much more of your ostensible desire for fairness if you broadened your perspectives somewhat.

You might direct some of your outrage toward vicious, negative stereotypes of Arabs, or toward one of your own columnists, William Safire, who employs the most vicious kind of racism to boom Israel and to put down its Arab adversaries.

And you might sometime editorially examine the official racism of Menachem Begin, who said he chose to bomb the Baghdad nuclear reactor on a Sunday because there would be no Christians working that day, or who claimed that the bombing of central Beirut was permissible because he bombed "only" the Palestinian section. How long will you wait to denounce this life-in-cheap-in-the-Arab-world form of racism?

For you to respond to criticism of Israel and its lobby by charging racism is to dilute the meaning of the word. It also violates the tenet in the closing paragraph of your editorial: "Those who would frighten any group out of the debate erode the rights of all."

JAMES G. ABOUREZK
Washington, Nov. 2, 1981

The writer is former U.S. Senator from South Dakota (1972-78).

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WASHINGTON

Haig's Endless Problems

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7 — Secretary of State Haig is regarded here as the most experienced member of the Reagan Administration in the conduct of foreign affairs, which is no great compliment, but he is in deep trouble.

He is not in trouble because of differences with the White House or the Pentagon over policy. He is closer to Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger and the President's National Security Adviser, Richard Allen, on the substance of policy than Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski were in the Carter Administration.

Under the political and personal pressures of his office, he has developed a pattern of losing his temper, and this has raised questions about his judgment.

He is not really the cause, but in some ways the victim, of the Reagan style of government. Nobody in this Administration ever pretended that the President had mastered the intricate details of foreign policy. He has delegated them to members of his Cabinet and White House staff, who compete with one another in filling the vacuum at the top by pronouncing the nation's foreign policy every Sunday morning on Meet the Press, Face the Nation, Issues and Answers, and other television talk shows.

This television diplomacy has alienated Secretary Haig from the start. He is a creature of the Pentagon, where decisions are carried out by command, but is now presiding over the State Department, where decisions must be reached by consensus and then carefully negotiated with the Congress and the allies.

He has not proved to be very effective in this misty world of compromise with the White House, comforting the Congress, reassuring the allies, or persuading the Russians, the Israelis or the Arabs. Maybe this assignment

is beyond human patience and endurance.

But in grappling with it, Mr. Haig has lost his cool. First he tried to insist on what seemed to many here, excessive control of all foreign, economic and political questions in the Cabinet, to the dismay of his colleagues, who rejected his proposals.

Then he elevated the El Salvador civil war into a major test of U.S.-Soviet relations, and discussed foreign policy in terms of military weapons, as if he were Secretary of Defense, which maybe he should have been — rather than Secretary of State, whose job is to make peace.

This problem of his temperament and his judgment came to dramatic public notice here in the last few days when he had the State Department spokesman say publicly that there was a "guerrilla campaign" by unnamed persons within the Administration to get him fired.

Since President Reagan had said the day before that he supported Secretary Haig, this was very odd. Why elevate a rumor into a front-page story all over the world? Why embarrass the President, who was trying to calm things down by insisting that there was some kind of conspiracy within the Administration against him?

Making things worse, Mr. Haig then testified in Congress the next day, while the European allies were trying to deal with massive anti-nuclear demonstrations, that Washington had a "contingency plan" to explode a "demonstration" nuclear bomb in the event that the Russians launched a conventional military attack against Western Europe.

This was immediately denied in Congress by Secretary of Defense Weinberger, who said there was no such "contingency plan," and should not be. Asked about this, the White House said there was really no contradiction. Both men were right, the White House insisted, since such an idea had been "suggested" some years ago but was rejected.

President Reagan has dealt with all this as if it were no big deal. "Boys will be boys," he said in the Oval Office and then to cut it out, and all will be well.

But, frankly, all is not well. If Mr. Reagan could read the diplomatic cables going out of Washington here this weekend to the capitals of his allies and his adversaries, or even into the hottest operations of his friends, he would realize that he's not at the end but merely at the beginning of a foreign policy crisis abroad — as well as an economic crisis at home.

For, as The Wall Street Journal, no enemy of the Reagan Administration, said this week, these questions of temperament and judgment, "underscore the Secretary's feelings of insecurity," and "tend to foster a concern that he is uneasy."

So the President may have told Secretary Haig and Mr. Allen to cut the sniping, and asked everybody to settle down and forget it. But the allies are not forgetting it — they are increasingly going off on their own, worrying about the judgment and disarray of the top officials in Washington. And this same feeling is beginning to pervade the capital.

WASHINGTON — In two recent instances, President Reagan has removed himself from reality. He has denied the truth by blaming others for misinterpreting or misreporting what he and his closest aides have been saying.

The first case began at his last news conference, over a month ago. He read a prepared statement unmistakably directed to Israel and its supporters opposing him on the Awaacs sale: "While we must always take into account the vital interests of our allies... it is not the business of our nations to make American foreign policy."

Under questioning that day, he made even clearer that his target was Israel: "... Other countries must not get a perception that we are being unduly influenced one way or the other with regard to foreign policy." That argument — that we must not let the Arab world think that Israel unduly influences American policy — was at the center of his sales pitch at the time. In context, there could not be — nor was there — any doubt that his target was his Awaacs opposition.

But a few days before the vote, when asked if he had implied that Israel and its supporters were interfering with his foreign policy, Mr. Reagan assumed an injured innocence: "I know some people took it that way, but that was misinterpreted. I was terribly upset when I discovered that some Israeli supporters believed I was aiming at them. I was not... All I wanted was an end to the kind of talk that says we're being dictated to by one country or the other. Actually, I was kind of aiming at the media which have been carrying stories of this kind."

That position is unconnected with reality. The purpose of his "not the business of our nations" line was to get Israel to back off. The line was delivered with relish by Mr. Reagan, who made his point and scared Senator William Cohen into flip-flopping lest a

ESSAY

Who's Blowing Smoke?

By William Safire

negative vote caused an anti-Semitic reaction.

If the President thought then or thinks now he was making an even-handed observation, he would be incredibly and dangerously naive. He is not.

The second false claim of misinterpretation took place last week when Secretary of State Haig launched a counterattack against White House Chief of Staff James Baker and National Security Adviser Richard Allen.

Using a technique known as "suppressing fire," Mr. Haig charged he was the object of a "guerrilla campaign" by top White House officials he would not name. As columnist Jack Anderson was about to write of the Secretary's incipient departure, the Secretary of State panicked to the point of begging the President to call the newsmen to wave him off the story. Mr. Reagan complied.

Over the ever-louder sound of sniper fire between White House and State, the President has pretended to believe that all the noise was inspired by mischievous reporters: "Whoever wrote that report not only was blowing smoke, they were doing a disservice to this country," he said of a musical-chairs rumor reported here and else-

where. He insisted that the reports of backbiting had "absolutely no foundation" and suggested the sources were imaginary: "I haven't much faith in an unnamed source. Sometimes I wonder if there is such a thing as an unnamed source."

Again he was denying reality. The truth, as any Washington reporter will attest, is that it is hard to avoid being buttonholed by high White House aides complaining about the turf-battling Mr. Haig, or by State officials running down Richard Allen and (more gingerly) Defense Secretary Weinberger. Defense and arms control officials cheerfully lob background bricks at the most flappable man in town.

These sources are neither "sinister forces" nor "unnamed" — they may be unidentified, but they have real names — and are not figments of journalistic imaginations, as Mr. Reagan suggested.

Belatedly, the President realized that nobody believed him. Even the most avid pooh-poohers of backbiting knew that real bites were being taken out of real backs. Finally, the two leading suspects were called on the Oval Office carpet and told to cut it out. Even then, White House spokesmen were lamely pretending the knock-heads session was about "coordination."

Why is Ronald Reagan pulling the plug on his reservoir of credibility with these flights from reality? Three possibilities exist:

The first is that he is the legendary good schoolboy, who reads inflammatory lines unaware of their content and who trustingly accepts all "not-me, Boss" protestations.

The second is that he is assuming the shiftiness of office, and is now willing to mislead the public by blaming the press for misinterpretation and fact-cooking.

The third — and the likelihood — is that he is falling into the trap of believing what he wishes were true.

Moscow And War

By Dimitri K. Simes

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union does not exclude the possibility of nuclear war. It prepares very seriously to fight one. Even Leonid I. Brezhnev, in his recent statement that the Soviet Union would not launch a preventive nuclear strike, did not deny this. The Kremlin also believes that a shift in the strategic nuclear balance in its favor provides greater freedom of geopolitical maneuvering. But Moscow does not feel that it can fight and win a nuclear war. On the contrary, its prevailing assumption is that a nuclear exchange cannot be reliably controlled and is inherently unwinnable.

Why then do so many informed and influential Western, especially American, statesmen and military analysts confidently charge that the Soviet Union considers nuclear war winnable? They are motivated in part by political expediency — namely, a desire not only to present an opponent as 10 feet tall but also to completely dehumanize him in the process. But there are other important reasons why many well-meaning and usually responsible people misread Soviet thinking on issues of nuclear war.

To start with, Moscow itself is at fault. The Kremlin's preoccupation with secrecy, its reluctance to engage in a serious discussion regarding the Soviet Union's strategic doctrine and the organization and equipment of its forces inevitably gives ammunition to advocates of worst-case scenarios.

Second, the Soviet record of deception does not add credibility to peaceful assertions by Mr. Brezhnev and his associates. Yet, Soviet leaders rarely lie when explaining fundamental directions of their foreign policy. From the beginning of détente, the Kremlin said it would continue to support so-called national liberation movements. Moreover, the Politburo pulled no punches when claiming that détente was essentially another form of class struggle. And Soviet rulers said point blank that détente would not diminish the regime's intolerance of dissent. The reason for such seemingly uncharacteristic candor is simple: Official Soviet declarations are designed for many audiences. The Politburo has to keep in mind not only the West but also its own subjects and the elites of client states — and it cannot mislead them without considerable costs.

Third, those who claim Moscow is willing to fight a nuclear war miss a crucial distinction between Soviet military doctrine and military strategy. Doctrine is formulated jointly by political and military leaders. It defines basic strategic goals, suggests ways and means to achieve them through the force of arms, and distinguishes between acceptable and prohibitive costs and risks. And it unambiguously states that nuclear war is unwinnable and should be avoided. But the Kremlin simultaneously assumes that the tragic possibility of such a confrontation cannot be excluded. Military science, on the other hand, addresses the best way to organize forces to enhance deterrence and to fight a war should deterrence fail. This science is developed exclusively by the uniformed military; it deals with practical problems of waging war — not with the question of whether to initiate a nuclear exchange.

The abundant Soviet military literature proves beyond doubt that should nuclear war break out, Moscow may be prepared to launch on warning and to make every effort to reduce its own losses and to inflict the greatest possible damage on the enemy. What these writings do not indicate is any realistic expectation that the Soviet Union will be able to achieve anything approaching a significant victory — significant in the sense of accomplishing any vital political objectives. Some American analysts argue that the Soviet Union believes it is possible to win a nuclear war. But these observers ignore the

fact that many Soviet marshals and generals openly acknowledge the catastrophic consequences of using nuclear weapons. For example, Colonel General A. N. Lomov stated that nuclear war would "threaten the lives of tens if not hundreds of millions of people." Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, the chief of the Soviet General Staff, recently wrote that "in terms of the ferocity and the scale of potential destruction it [nuclear war] could be compared with no wars of the past. The very nature of modern weapons is such that, if they are put into play, the

future of all mankind would be at stake."

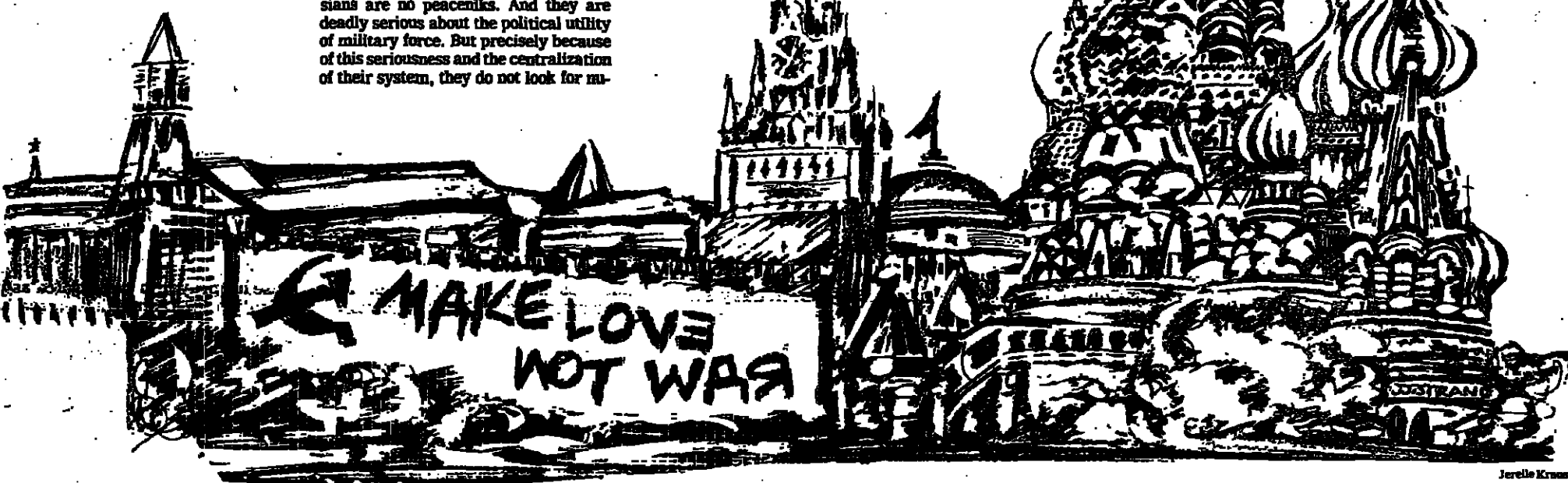
Finally, Westerners who take an apocalyptic view of Soviet intentions do not explain why the Soviet regime, with all its well-documented domestic problems, would have confidence in its very survival were it to suffer the devastation and chaos of a nuclear war. Neither do they suggest why, with impressive superiority in conventional forces everywhere on its periphery, the Soviet Union would need to risk self-destruction by opening a nuclear Pandora's Box.

No, Mr. Brezhnev's peace-loving propaganda notwithstanding, the Russians are not pacifists. And they are deadly serious about the political utility of military force. But precisely because of this seriousness and the centralization of their system, they do not look for mu-

clear shortcuts. Over the years, they have made a major, costly effort to build formidable conventional forces, and they have succeeded dramatically in improving their ability to use military power throughout the world. The principal task of the Soviet nuclear arsenal is to serve as an effective shield providing

cover for Soviet use of the conventional sword.

Dimitri K. Simes is executive director of the Soviet and East European research program at The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



Beyond Cancún

By Richard N. Gardner

With the Cancún summit meeting behind us, the United States will be under pressure from both its industrialized allies and the developing countries to move promptly into global negotiations on such North-South issues as trade, development, finance, food, raw materials, and energy. But such negotiations cannot occur until there is a compromise on the procedural ques-

tion of where and how the North-South dialogue is to proceed.

Spokesmen for some developing countries argue that negotiations must be conducted in the United Nations, where the one-nation, one-vote procedure gives them an automatic majority. They want the decisions by this majority to control the policies of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The United States opposes giving the United Nations a central role in the global negotiations, insisting that the World Bank, I.M.F., and GATT, whose management reflects the economic importance of the developed countries, should be kept as independent as possible of United Nations influence.

Common sense suggests a way of reconciling these positions. The basic

structures of the two Bretton Woods institutions — the Bank and I.M.F. — and GATT would not be changed. By ensuring that those who make economic commitments have an appropriate say in institutional management, these structures have made it possible to mobilize impressive financial resources on behalf of developing countries and clear away obstacles to their trade.

On the other hand, the division of voting rights agreed upon at the Bretton Woods conference 37 years ago needs continual adjustment in the light of changing economic realities. There should be further increases in the voting power of Saudi Arabia and other members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in return for increased financial contributions. A modest increase in the voting

rights of all developing countries should be considered in order to enhance the credibility of the World Bank and the I.M.F. in the third world without impairing their effectiveness.

A compromise is also possible on the question of global negotiations in the United Nations. The United States is right in resisting demands to create a "New International Economic Order" as may be decided in the General Assembly by the third-world voting machine. But the developing countries are also right in insisting that the world needs a central forum where all economic questions can be discussed, their interrelationships examined, and trade-offs explored.

Indeed, the United States and all member countries are committed by the United Nations Charter to try to use the United Nations for this pur-

pose. The problem is to ensure that the organization serves its Charter aim of "harmonizing the actions of nations" — that is, serve as a place for resolving economic differences and not just as a place where these differences manifest themselves.

To make the United Nations a fit place for global negotiations, the methods of work of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council need to be revised.

Small negotiating groups representative of member states' interests should be established for particular issues; they should be composed mainly of experts from capitals, not members of United Nations missions, who are too often schooled in politics and rhetoric. An acknowledged authority in each field under negotiation should serve as full-time chairman of each group, with the job of working with key countries to find agreed solutions.

In the absence of agreement, the General Assembly could vote anything it liked, as at present, but the defeated minority from whom concessions are demanded would be under no obligation to change its ways. The World Bank, I.M.F., and GATT would retain the independence they now have. But when the new procedures produced agreements, ratified by the Assembly, the developed and developing countries concerned would undertake to implement them in good faith through the World Bank, I.M.F., GATT and other appropriate institutions.

If it be noted that it has already been unanimously agreed upon by a United Nations group of representatives of rich and poor countries appointed by Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, in a 1975 report, "A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation."

With appropriate updating and adapting, the compromise fashioned by that group six years ago remains available for those who want to get on with the urgent business of striking North-South bargains in the common interest.

Richard N. Gardner, professor of international law at Columbia University and United States Ambassador to Italy from 1977 to 1981, is author of "Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy," a history of the Bretton Woods institutions and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Holes in Reg n m cs

By Lester C. Thurow

in filth. Yet clean streets and parks depend upon a sequence of public and private interactions that gradually improve or deteriorate over a period of time.

If private citizens litter and vandalize with abandon, no amount of public street cleaning can succeed. The esprit de corps of sanitation workers plunges in the face of insurmountable filth, and the quality of the service declines. With poor public cleaning, private littering accelerates. Conversely, if public cleaning deteriorates, citizens feel that their individual self-restraint and cooperation does no good — the streets and parks are going to be dirty whatever they do. With less self-restraint and cooperation, littering grows. A vicious cycle begins with our cities getting dirtier and dirtier.

But if no one gives a damn about a clean environment, the feeling quickly grows and spreads to other more important areas of life. People start to be rude to each other when they meet face-to-face on the street. From there it is a simple step to even more hostile actions.

Municipal services — clean streets, an efficient transportation system, good

schools, effective police and fire protection — are important in their own right. They make life easier to live. But they play an even more important role in linking us together and reminding us that we depend upon each other for survival. They are the means by which each of us learns that we belong to a society in which our actions and the actions of others are important.

As municipal services decline in quality, citizens feel that they have no stake in the society. The public services that directly affect one's life are not going to improve, so voting does not matter. With fewer people voting, government becomes less representative and fewer people feel that it is their government. The world comes to be seen not as a place where we work out our quarrels peacefully and with consideration for others in the democratic process but as a place where we solve our quarrels by clubbing each other and where the only difference between the rich and the poor is whether the clubbing is legal or illegal.

Government services can, and often should be, cut back selectively. But indiscriminate across-the-board cutbacks in local services, such as most

municipal areas are now experiencing under Reagan budget cuts and a deteriorating economy, are a different matter. They result in a society where the public signals indicate that the individual belongs to a society in which everything is getting worse.

No one likes to be associated with institutions that are getting worse on every front. Who can take pride in New York or Boston if the city we see, the public sector, is falling apart? But if we do not feel attached to our cities, it is but a short jump to not feeling attached to our society.

Socially it is important that in some aspect our society is visibly seen to be getting better. Signs of social disintegration — sloppy workmanship, falling educational standards, anger, rudeness, crime — are all around us. We have only to look.

The cycle of increasingly hostile actions ending in crime and social disintegration has to be replaced with a positive cycle. Local public services aren't, in the end, a local problem. They are the place where a positive cycle can begin. The Reagan Administration has to provide some leadership when it comes to local services, or it won't have a national society to lead into battle.

Lester C. Thurow, professor of economics and management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is author of "The Zero Sum Society."

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Arts & Leisure

Mr. Nice Guy — His Dull Act Triumphs in Hollywood

By STEPHEN FARBER

One of the year's more highly acclaimed films is Lawrence Kasdan's steamy, atmospheric melodrama, "Body Heat." Aside from its triumphs of style and performance, what makes the film so distinctive — and so engrossing — is that it brings unsympathetic characters back to the screen. The hero, played by William Hurt, is a sleazy, disreputable lawyer who gets drawn into a murder plot by his own lust and greed. The heroine, Kathleen Turner, is a deceitful and treacherous — reminiscent of the scheming heroines played by Barbara Stanwyck, Bette Davis and Joan Crawford in the 1940's.

"Body Heat" most specifically recalls "Double Indemnity," which was something of a landmark in its day, too: the censors had resisted James M. Cain's story of immorality in Pasadena, and the studio was nervous about whether the public would take to such a cynical tale. When the movie was a hit, it helped to launch a cycle of suspense films about beady-eyed killers and cold-hearted vamps.

Yet, those films and those characters have virtually disappeared in recent years, which is why "Body Heat" seems like such a charmingly nasty anomaly. According to the current Hollywood gospel, characters in a movie must be "sympathetic" — which generally means sweet, charming, tender and vulnerable. Recently asked why the studio had decided to back a controversial new film, a top Hollywood executive replied, "It's about three nice people." That statement seemed to reflect the thinking of most of today's executives; it also suggested why American movies have lost a great deal of vitality.

This new credo of "niceness" is so deeply ingrained that almost to one dares challenge the dogma. After reading a script, an executive's most common criticism is, "I just didn't like the people" — as if every character in a movie had to qualify for the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award. Virtually every good screenwriter has had to contend with the corporate bosses informing him that his characters aren't sympathetic enough. Frederic Raphael (author of "Darling," "Two for the Road," and the BBC series "The Glittering Prizes") recently told Dick Cavett of his running battle with studio executives: "Their objection is usually the same: 'The main character is a little too abrasive. Couldn't you sweeten him up a bit?'"

Producers and executives have always been frightened of making movies that would alienate the audience, but this obsessive concern with creating "nice" heroes and heroines is a new development. After all, the history of the great characters in literature and drama could be described as "nice": Lady Macbeth or Richard III, Becky Sharp or Captain Ahab, Blanche Dubois or Humbert Humbert? Not one of them would win a popularity poll.

But one doesn't have to ransack the library shelves for examples of heroes and heroines who were distinctly unlovable. In the past, many great movies — and even many popular movies — had protagonists one wouldn't dream of choosing as a best friend. Charles Foster Kane or, more recently, Don Corleone were fascinating megalomaniacs, but they definitely weren't "nice people." Recall a few more memorable movie characters: Humphrey Bogart's

Stephen Farber is a freelance writer based in Los Angeles.

Fred C. Dobbs in "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre," an avaricious and paranoid psychopath; Gloria Swanson's Norma Desmond in "Sunset Boulevard," a self-centered, insanely possessive silent movie queen; Bette Davis's Margo Channing, an insecure, temperamental actress, and Anne Baxter's Eve Harrington, her cunning, heartless young rival in "All About Eve"; Peter O'Toole's Lawrence of Arabia, described by another character in the film as "the most shameless exhibitionist since Barnum and Bailey"; Gene Hackman's Popeye Doyle in "The French Connection," a foul-mouthed, racist and sadistic cop.

Or consider the heroine of the most popular movie ever made (maybe not in terms of box office grosses, but in terms of the number of people who actually saw the movie): Scarlett O'Hara in "Gone With the Wind." Scarlett was anything but "nice." She was a selfish, conniving, frequently wrongheaded woman who mesmerized us because of her energy and resilience, not because of her sweetness or compassion. (The "nice" character in "Gone With the Wind" was simply, sickly Melanie, and she paled in comparison with Scarlett.)

What these examples suggest is that dramatists for the movies once accepted the fact that the most interesting, spellbinding characters contain an explosive, unpredictable mixture of attractive and unattractive qualities. Dramatic tension depends on that struggle of light and darkness within complex, flawed people. The best characters keep us on edge because we can never be sure of how they will act. Audiences can also be riveted by an unabashedly evil character, like Iago or Eve Harrington — perhaps because we can see our own worst qualities magnified in these monsters, or simply because we are all secretly fascinated by the intrigues and machinations of a diabolically clever maniac.

Of course there were also some "nice" heroes in movies in the past — particularly in Frank Capra's gentle populist comedies. Gary Cooper's Mr. Deeds and James Stewart's Mr. Smith are probably the forerunners of the "nice" characters in vogue today. But these charming characters didn't dominate all movies; they represented



Martin Hewitt—"adorable"

just one kind of hero in a very specialized brand of fantasy-comedy. Movies in those days encompassed a broad range of genres and characters: Capra-corn flourished right alongside film noir; Judy Garland personified fresh-faced innocence at the same time that Barbara Stanwyck was creating a vivid gallery of strong-willed gorgons and icy murderers.

Why, then, have "nice people" overrun the movies? Probably the most influential film in initiating the new cycle was "Rocky," an updated Capraesque fairy tale. Frank Capra himself endorsed the film enthusiastically, and Sylvester Stallone's Rocky Balboa, like Cooper's Mr. Deeds, was a big dumb galoot with a heart as big as Dr. Schweitzer's. Audiences fell in love with Rocky, and the executives concluded that the public wanted to see movies about purely lovable characters. Six months later, the phenomenal success of "Star Wars," with its baby-faced hero, Luke Skywalker, clinched the ascendancy of the nice hero as the new movie prototype.

In the past, two or three hits didn't set the tone for all other movies. Executives were more confident of their audience and therefore far more willing to produce a variety of movies to please every palate. Now the studios are searching for one magic formula for success, and they are less likely to tolerate diversity. When business is shaky, the executives run scared; they feel the safest approach is to make all characters as ingratiating as possible.

If a film with an unsympathetic hero did reach the screen in recent years, it was only because two or three iconoclastic directors insisted on challenging Hollywood's religion of sentimentality. Francis Coppola (in "Apocalypse Now"), Bob Fosse (in "All That Jazz") and Martin Scorsese (in "Raging Bull") managed to make movies with more abrasive characters, but those were exceptions, and the studios were very uncomfortable with their dark visions.

Only these few directors had the clout to buck the prevailing "niceness" trend. Much more power rests in the hands of stars, and they are notoriously protective of their images.

When actors were under contract to studios, the executives could simply assign an actor to play in a particular movie; even if the star found the role unsympathetic, he or she had little opportunity to alter the character. Today, however, the stars call the shots. If Barbara Streisand wants to insure that her fans continue to adore her, then she will turn the singer in "A Star Is Born" into a noble, self-sacrificing woman, cleansed of all ruthlessness and ambition; and there is no one with the power to stop her.

Similarly, Al Pacino played the lawyer in "... And Justice for All" as a secular saint, and this compromised the film's satire of legal chicanery by suggesting that everyone was tainted by today's system of justice except our miraculously uncorrupted hero.

Burt Reynolds is another actor obsessed with securing and retaining the love of his fans. "Hooper," a promising Hollywood satire, was eviscerated because Mr. Reynolds turned the blowhard stunt man hero into a symbol of American gallantry. And in the soft-bodied "Starting Over," Mr. Reynolds oozed sincerity as a tremblingly earnest divorced man.

More recently, in the misconceived "Paternity," Mr. Reynolds played an insensitive egomaniac miraculously transformed into a devoted husband and father in time for an improbable upbeat finale. All three movies lost their edge because of the star's excessive concern about his likability.



William Hurt as janitor—"benign"

Whether the softening is dictated by actors, producers or executives, movies have definitely changed for the worse. "Rocky" has spawned a flock of athletic tearjerkers: "Dreamer," a glorification of an intrepid bowler; "Big Wednesday," a misty-eyed ode to surfers; and "Running," a saga of a track star's ordeals and triumphs.

Another consequence of this epidemic of niceness is that the studios have been turning out pointless, mawkish little "human" comedies featuring a parade of lovable losers and amiable kooks: "Heroes" (with Henry Winkler, as an aging, reformed psycho ward), "Why Would I Lie?" (Treat Williams as a cute compulsive liar); "Back

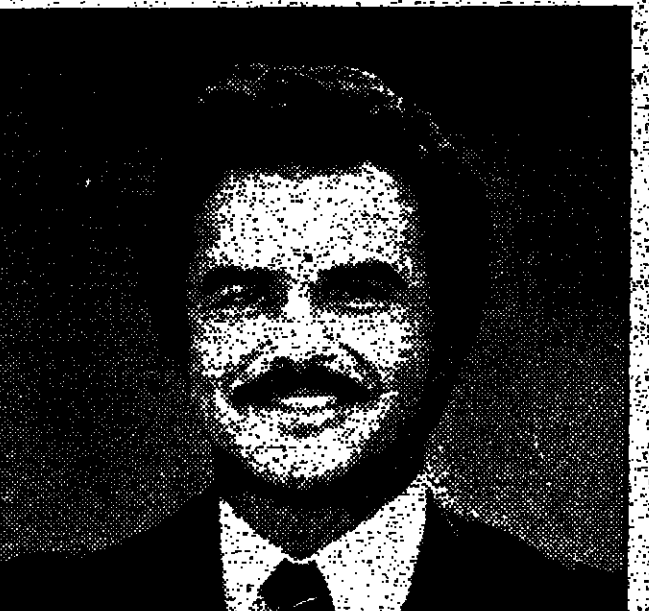
Roads" (the romance of Tommy Lee Jones as a rambunctious drifter and Sally Field as a hooker-with-a-heart; "All Night Long" (the liaison between Gene Hackman as an angst-ridden security guard and Barbara Streisand as a compassionate adulterer); "Chu Chu and the Philly Flash" (the encounter of Alan Arkin as a winsome hobo and Carol Burnett as a darling dance teacher). In all these treacherous movies the syrupy approach to character dulls the dramatic possibilities.

The list of sickly sweet fiascos goes on and on. The excruciating "Moment by Moment" was a howl because we were asked to see a Los Angeles street hustler (played by John Travolta) as a sad-eyed waif, a font of kindness and vulnerability. "Fatsy" presented Dom DeLuise's overweight Italian shopkeeper as a cloyingly sensitive, generous mountain of lard. In "Eyewitness" William Hurt was supposed to be a slightly deranged janitor obsessed with a television newscaster; but the character's romantic obsession was rendered so completely benign that the movie lost much of its tension.

But there are many ways in which movies can be destroyed by this urge to whitewash the characters. In "Thief," the writer-director Michael Mann was so desperate to have us love James Caan's high-stakes thief that he belabored a maudlin subplot about Caan's struggle to adopt a baby. These dreary domestic interludes sapped the narrative tension and emasculated what might have been a hard-edged crime movie. It's hard to imagine the characters in "Double Indemnity," "The Asphalt Jungle" or "The Killing" taking time out from larceny to cuddle a tiny tot.

Another film ruined by the impulse to sweeten the characters was the Franco Zeffirelli "Endless Love." This should have been a story about the disturbing extremes of sexual and romantic obsession; at moments we should have felt frightened by the intensity of the young hero.

But Zeffirelli wanted everyone in the audience to like his protagonist, and so he encouraged Martin Hewitt to play the character as an adorable puppy dog rather than as the driven, violently obsessed young man of the book. In



Burt Reynolds—"earnest"

the movie there's not the slightest hint of danger in his all-consuming passion, and therefore it's hard to believe that his girlfriend's father would regard him as a threat. The character has been turned into nothing more threatening than a woozy teen-ager in love; he's so soft and tender that the story no longer makes sense.

Obviously the producers justified these decisions in the belief that the films would make more money if the characters were "nice." But films such as "Endless Love," "Thief," "Back Roads" and "Chu Chu and the Philly Flash" haven't performed particularly well at the box office. So maybe it's time for Hollywood to re-examine the cult of niceness.

Expatriates Are His Subject, Iconoclasm Is His Homeland

By ANNETTE INSDORF

"Initially," said the Paris-based Yugoslav director Dusan Makavejev, "I planned to place at the beginning of the film the following text: 'This film is dedicated to the new invisible nation of Europe, the fourth largest, of 11 million immigrants and guest workers who moved North to exploit rich and prosperous people, bringing with them filthy habits, bad manners and the smell of garlic.'"

Mr. Makavejev's films have long been synonymous with impudent provocation and inevitable controversy. "Montenegro," which opens today at the Plaza, is no exception, being laced with his characteristic eroticism, mischievous satire and deliberately startling shifts of style. Made in Sweden, the English-language film stars Susan Anspach as Marilyn Jordan, the elegantly bored American wife of a wealthy Swede (Erland Josephson). When inept customs officials cause her to miss a plane, she meets Tirke (Patricia Gelin) — a young immigrant seeking her fortune in Sweden — who offers her a ride back into Stockholm.

Marilyn is taken to the Zanzi Bar, a gaudy nightclub, where she is drawn to the handsome young zookeeper, Montenegro (Svetozar Cvetkovic) and revels in this raunchy playground of immigrant workers. While her husband consoles himself with an Armenian psychiatrist (Per Oscarsson), she plays waitress, singer and lover — until a surprising and violent finale.

Ever since Mr. Makavejev began making films in his native Belgrade in the 50's, some officials have grumbled at his indulgence in overt sensuality, anti-bureaucratic swipes and puzzling juxtapositions.

In its depiction of lusty Slavs in Sweden, "Montenegro," his first film in seven years, illustrates rather than literally states the dedication "to the

new invisible nation" that Mr. Makavejev had proposed. The curious combination of Nordic and Serbian cultures embodied in the film is the result of Mr. Makavejev's long friendship with its producer, Bo Jonsson.

"We met in Argentina almost 20 years ago," recalled the 49-year-old director recently. "He was showing 'Dear John' and I was showing 'Man Is Not a Bird.' So, if there is a tango in 'Montenegro,' it comes from this Argentinian meeting," he said with a laugh.

In "Montenegro," Makavejev continues his concern with the sexual liberation of a female.

When Mr. Makavejev was teaching film at Harvard in 1978, Mr. Jonsson came from Sweden and proposed that they make "a high-quality comedy with popular appeal and measured eroticism." The director could add as many "little somethings" [characteristic stylistic extravagances] as he wished, but within this agreed frame.

The first draft was called "Wienerschnitzel Waltz." Mr. Makavejev said with a chuckle, "from Tom Lehrer's song about a man dancing with a lady who has such big feet that when he drinks champagne from her shoe, he gets drunk! We made a comédie surréaliste with some psychological drama in it."

Mr. Jonsson asked for a better title. "Something like 'Casablanca,'" asked the director. "How about 'Montenegro?'"

Mr. Makavejev's career as a filmmaker extends back to 1965, when he made "Man Is Not a Bird," his first feature, which has been succinctly described by the filmmaker and critic Jean-Pierre Gorin: "This Serbian stew sets the pattern for Makavejev's feature films, for it blends actuality with fiction in a completely self-conscious and seamless manner."

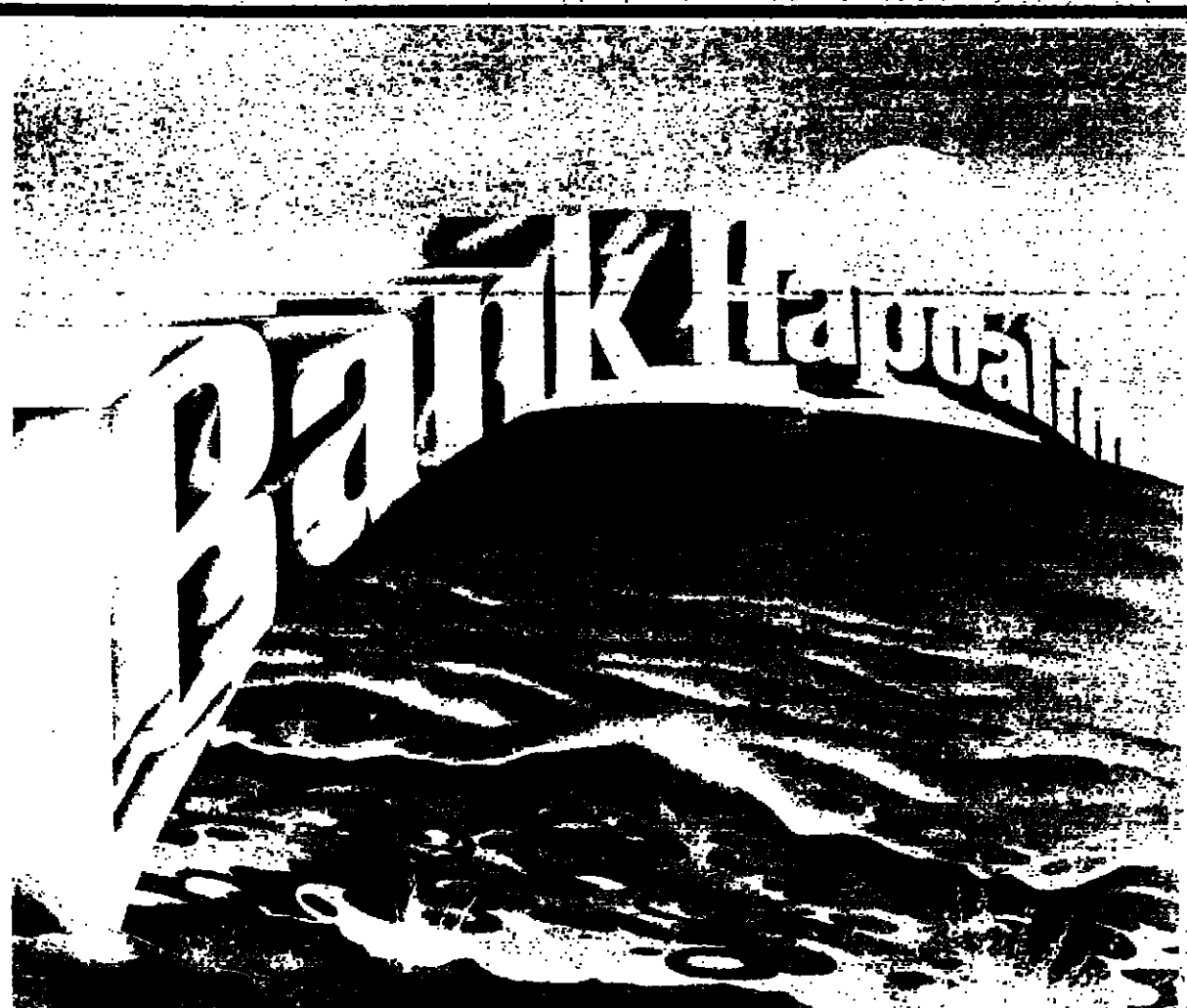
In subsequent films, like "Love Affair," or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator" (1967), "Innocence Unprotected" (1968), "WR: Mysteries of the Organism" (1971), and "Sweet Movie" (1974), Mr. Makavejev wreaked havoc with both propriety and film form. His surreal treatises on passion and repression, science and ideology, freedom and crime gleefully attacked dogmas — whether they came from the East or the West.

"WR: Mysteries of the Organism" — an irreverent and affectionate exploration of Wilhelm Reich's Utopian theories about sexuality and their application by a young Yugoslav woman — was banned in his own country. It fared better in America, where much of the film was shot.

As in Mr. Makavejev's other films, the focus of "Montenegro" is on the woman. Does he consider himself a "feminist" director? "It's very hard to define yourself, especially if you are an artist," said the burly director. "Are you a man, woman or an animal? Or a plant? Women are much richer in their problems, unexplored areas and feelings. Men are so ugly in their prescribed roles, stuck into all kinds of clichés."

Although "Montenegro" is more accessible to a mass American audience than Mr. Makavejev's earlier films, it continues his concern with the sexual liberation of a female character. However, this liberation appears intimately connected to destructiveness in "WR: Mysteries of the Organism," "Sweet Movie" and "Montenegro."

"Freedom is dangerous," he responded with an enigmatic twinkle. "You know you want to change your life, but you cannot know what the outcome will be."



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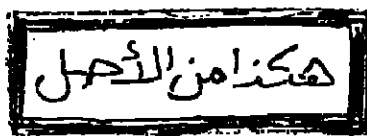
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POLLUTION ON TAP

LISTENING IN.../Ze'ev Schul

MY FRIENDS can be divided into two basic categories: those who can afford an afternoon snooze and those who work for a living. Which is why I consider good features a waste at that time of day. A case in point was last Thursday's (Second Programme) *Of Places and People* on the subject of ecology and that much-abused term, quality of life.

Since I tuned in some time after the programme was underway, I missed the opening credits, and assume here that Carmi Guy ran the show, a woman I admit I'm partial to. In the studio to help her part were journalist Yitzhak Tischler, ex-MK Yosef Tamir and a third gentleman whose name I missed. They were agreed: we are heading for an ecological cropper unless something is done to remedy the situation. Soon the only stuff left to drink will be *mitz*, orange, grapefruit or whatever and also that dreadful innovation from the orchards of Galilee, canned apple juice.

The basic question raised was why a nation, presumably not suffering from a suicidal pull — a "Masada complex," if one likes a term I think was coined by post-war Germans — should want, every year, to pour 11 million cubic metres of untreated sewage into its one and only drinking water reservoir? The question remained unanswered.

Tamir recalled that he had wagged a verbal finger at the Knesset just over ten years ago, on March 29, 1971, to be precise. Unless we changed our ways, he said way back then, irreparable damage would be done. We are now eating, or rather drinking, his words.

Not that the Knesset ignored his warning. On the contrary, it took prompt action and that very year passed legislation prohibiting the discharge of sewage in all forms, including recycled stuff, into the Kinneret basin.

But legislation, it turned out, is one thing. Implementation is another. As the radio panel pointed out, the buck was passed to a succession of water commissioners.

Yitzhak Tischler, a colleague whose opinions I respect, was not at his best on Thursday. He insisted on voicing quips and cynicisms, instead of allowing better-informed panel members to have their full say. Some points that should have been dealt with were not even mentioned. For example, the draining of the Hula. More than one competent expert blames it for much of the damage. The shallow Hula swamp was a magnificent clarification basin, catching sediments from the swiftly flowing Jordan upstream from the Kinneret. The transformation of the area gave us some

cotton fields and an overburdened Kinneret.

Dumping unwanted brine and sewage into the Jordan via the "Saline Water Conduit" isn't going to do the environment much good either. It'll foul up the Jordan, depriving us and our descendants of the unique flora and fauna still holding out in an already salty stream. The ecologists say there are affordable solutions to present problems except maybe the one of four ministries being responsible for Kinneret water, the Ministries of Tourism, Health, Agriculture and Industry and Trade — not to mention the Ministry of Interior. With a little bit of kvetching, the Ministry for Religious Affairs could get into the act. After all, Tiberias is one of Judaism's four holy cities and the lake, according to a legend mentioned by Flavius, was created by the Almighty for His own special delight.

With considerable nostalgia, I recall the good old times when the Kinneret was still treated with respect, before it became our principal water reservoir. Seems to me that in the early years of the state, a question was raised in the UN about whether dancing was permissible in lakeside establishments in view of the sanctified status of the lake.

LISTENING IN to the Wagner fricas the other week, I was much impressed by (now lifetime) IPO musical director Zubin Mehta's attempts to blue and whitewash *Tristan and Isolde*. My sabra son wanted to know what the fuss was all about.

There are those who claim that in spite of the impeccable family tree provided by Nazi researchers, Richard Wagner was of Jewish descent — the illegitimate son of actor Ludwig Geyer, whom his mother married without even pausing for a decent period of mourning for her first husband. The Nazis maintained that even if Geyer was indeed the composer's sire, he had an untarnished Protestant background, traced back to the 17th century.

That Wagner was a virulent anti-Semite is undisputed. Still, I think that the first rendition of the Nazi anthem was more difficult to listen to than *Tristan and Isolde's Liebestod*, and the Austrian *Kudersky*. March seems to me to be more offensive, memorywise, than the musical conjuring up of a bulging female combing her blonde tresses and yelling a stentorian "Nie sollst du mich befragen."

How about a programme on Wagner, perhaps even a little opinion round-up? The sparks may fly, but it will be a welcome diversion from whatever else is bothering us nowadays.

Branching out

Jerusalem Post Reporter

IT IS a constant source of encouragement that so many people both in Israel and abroad are concerned that children receive gifts for Hanukkah.

The messages attached to personal cheques and bank drafts are heart-warming, and it is truly amazing how many people prefer to give in the name of a loved one rather than in their own names. In a sense, they are giving twice: they are giving credit for a *mitzva* to someone else, and they are giving a monetary donation to the Toy Fund which *The Jerusalem Post* is running for the 33rd consecutive year.

This year, the Toy Fund is branching out to aid the Jerusalem Biblical Zoo. The existing structure is very woebegone, and plans are afoot to construct a new zoo with a more modern infrastructure. *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund has undertaken to help finance the cost of a new monkey house and will contribute a portion of the general donations for this purpose.

At the moment, the Toy Fund itself assumes top priority. With Hanukkah less than six weeks away, it is imperative to ensure that there are gifts for children in foster homes, institutions and hospitals. All Toy Fund projects are conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Contributions arriving during the last few days total \$13,505.29 bringing the current Toy Fund Drive to \$32,643.60.

\$1,000 Margaret Katzke, Jerusalem with best wishes for another successful drive.
\$50 In the name of Semi Rosenbaum — from his loving children and grandchildren. In memory of parents Clara Rosenzweig and Benjamin Edelberg — Guillermo S. Edelberg, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
\$25 Mr. and Mrs. Richard Levi, Brookline, MA.
\$237 Anonymous, Jerusalem.
\$15 Judith and Barry Bravman, Flushing, N.Y.
\$10,19 Lt. Col. Jos. W. Burke, Ret., St. Petersburg, Fla.
\$10 Beatrice Gliberman, Phoenix, Ariz.

"FORSAKE ME NOT"
RESPONSE TO THE "Forsake Me Not" drive has also been generous.

The message contained in the 9th verse of the 71st Psalm, "Cast me not off in the time of old age, when my strength fades forsake me not," has struck a chord.

Concern for the needs of the aged and infirm has inspired a spontaneous cash flow from people throughout the world. Opening the mail has become a daily delight. Here again, we are inundated with requests to honour the memories, birthdays and anniversaries of loved ones with gifts which, when added up, provide the elderly with comforts which they cannot afford to provide for themselves.

Projects with which we have been involved to date include the exchange of unsafe locks for more secure ones; the introduction of beeper systems which are directly connected to police headquarters; home-care, day-care and dental services.

This year, a special effort will be directed towards senior citizens who live in outlying towns and villages and who desperately need extra blankets and heating.

All contributions received for "Forsake Me Not" are immediately channelled into operation so that the burdens of the elderly can be relieved as quickly as possible.

During the past few days, the fund has grown by an additional \$3,481, and now stands at \$17,991.76.

When sending your contributions, please mail them directly to The Jerusalem Post, P.O.B. 81, 910-00 Jerusalem. Donations will also be accepted at The Jerusalem Post Head Office, Romea: B'atzlachea, 8 Shamai Street, Jerusalem, The Jerusalem Post, 11 Carlebach Street, Tel Aviv, The Jerusalem Post, 34 Herzl Street, Haifa. A separate cheque should be sent for each fund and should be made out to "Forsake Me Not" or *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund.

\$130 Anonymous, Cimarron, KA.
\$10,000 Margaret Katzke, Jerusalem, with my heartfelt good wishes for a successful campaign.
\$1537 Anonymous, Jerusalem.
\$1520 In memory of our fathers, Boris Lenofsky and Harry Berkowitz — Regina and Harry Lenofsky, Rehovot.

THE DEATH of Elie Eliachar at the age of 83 leaves a big gap in the ranks of the Sephardim and a question mark on the conscience of all Israel.

Eliachar was the standard-bearer of the Sephardim and was known throughout the world as the defender of Sephardi rights, consistently pointing out the dangers of creating a "Second Israel" consisting of underprivileged Sephardi and Oriental Jews.

Culturally, he pressed for the incorporation of the rich Sephardi heritage into the textbooks and culture of Israel. His fears became real during the general elections last summer, when many Israelis shuddered at the prospect of an ethnic confrontation. Now, working towards harmony between Sephardim and Ashkenazim at all levels is considered a top national priority.

This is a justification of Elie Eliachar's crusade in favour of a pluralistic society in Israel rather than imposed integration, which was the guiding doctrine of the Establishment in the first two decades of the state.

Elie Eliachar was a scion of one of the leading families in Jerusalem, where the family settled after the expulsion from Spain. His great-grandfather was Ya'akov Shaul Eliachar, Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem; his father, Yitzhak S. Eliachar, was a prominent communal leader, and his mother's father, Yosef Navon built the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The development of Eretz Yisrael and its problems formed the background to Eliachar's life.

In character, Elie was an

An inspiring figure

By S.A. SERUYA / Special to The Jerusalem Post

aristocrat. He was cultured and widely read. He spoke not only an exceptionally beautiful Hebrew, but fluent Arabic, English, French, German, Spanish and Yiddish. He was a tall, elegant man and was noted for his charm.

He was also authoritative and did not suffer fools gladly. He seemed to find it difficult to maneuver and negotiate with the rising political leadership and at times clashed with mediocre bureaucrats in key positions.

For Elie Eliachar, Jerusalem was the centre of the Jewish world, but he never underestimated the rest of the world. He was also a cosmopolitan and widely travelled man. As a devoted Zionist with his roots so deep in Jerusalem, he was very conscious of the need to live in peace with the Arabs.

In his youth, he began studying medicine at the Beirut University and served as a medical officer in the Turkish Army. After World War I, he joined the law faculty of Cairo University and finally obtained his law degree at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

During the British Mandate, he served as a senior economic adviser and also branched out into his own business. He was a pioneer of Eretz Yisrael Airways and was a member

of the Va'ad Leumi, preparing a paper for the Peel Commission in 1936. Throughout those years, he was a leading member of the Sephardi Council in Jerusalem and was its president for the past 30 years until his death.

In 1925, he was elected delegate to the Zionist Congress, where he was regarded as an *enfant terrible*. He found that power was in the hands of the Zionist political parties and that the Sephardi and Oriental masses had little say. Even as late as 1969, as a senior leader, he was given only two minutes to address the Zionist Congress. And characteristically, he said: "One minute is enough. Love thy neighbour as thyself."

It was also in 1925 that he co-founded the World Sephardi Federation; but it was not until 1972 that he succeeded in getting the World Zionist Organization to accept the federation as a full member and to set up the department for Sephardi affairs within the WZO.

Before the creation of the state, Eliachar was a member of the Supreme Defence Council under Ben-Gurion, and in 1948-49 he was sent on a mission to South America on behalf of Israel. He was the founder of a vocational school in Jerusalem and subsequently a

leading member of ORT. Following the declaration of the state, he was elected a member of the first and second Knesset. He also served as deputy mayor of Jerusalem and was for a time, acting mayor.

Eliachar was a tireless writer and journalist, and his books *Living with the Palestinians* and *Living with the Jews* provide rich material for the student of Israel's social and political history.

The reunification of Jerusalem in 1967 gave him a new stimulus. He returned to Jerusalem from Haifa, where he was engaged in industry. His first challenge was the restoration of the four ancient Sephardi synagogues in the Old City, known as Rabban Yohanan Ben Zakai and the adjacent *metiva*, or college, and he was the leading spirit behind their reconstruction, which was completed in 1972.

The love he felt for the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, where he was born, was inspiring. He saw the Jewish Quarter as a living testimony of Jewish presence in Jerusalem throughout the ages and the most eloquent proof of Jewish historic rights in our capital city.

Eliachar fulfilled his dream to set up a Sephardi Research Institute — "Misgav Yerushalayim" — in partnership with the Hebrew

University. He also revived Sephardi-owned hospital, Ladach.

It was he who, in 1972, presented Nessim Gaon as president of the World Sephardi Federation. Regrettably, he himself died that time from active participation in the federation's activities.

Eliachar had always survived understanding with the Arabs after the Yom Kippur War he became honorary president of the Council for Peace with the Palestinians. His views on this brought him into conflict with some of his Sephardi colleagues.

He protested as unnatural the appointment of a non-Sephardi ambassador to Egypt. Equally, he condemned the insensitivity of appointing a Sephardi as the Israeli ambassador to Portugal years after the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. Eliachar advocated diplomatic relations with Spain in the early years when the Spanish Government wanted such relations.

In 1979, on behalf of the Sephardi Council, he negotiated with the Rumanian delegation, headed by deputy minister, and obtained a sum of \$200,000 for the Sephardi Council in settlement of educational trust.

Eliachar's dream was to attain equality among all Jews and achieve by all possible means *modus vivendi* with Israel's Arab neighbours. To the very end, he was a courageous and inspiring figure.

The writer is vice chairman of the Jerusalem Sephardi Council.

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Sports

Mansell drops bombshell; Turk out of Belfast squad

By PAUL KOHN
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — There is one major surprise in the party of 18 players who leave for Britain this morning for a week-long closed training camp before next Wednesday's World Cup soccer clash against Northern Ireland. Rifat (Jimmy) Turk is out.

National team coach Jack Mansell preferred Netanyahu's Benny Lamm in mid-field reckoning that Turk is still labouring under the impact of his knee injury which had him out of action for much of last season. The Hapoel Tel Aviv star was brought on by Mansell, however, for the final 20 minutes of Israel's game against Portugal at Ramat Gan last month in order to ease the pressure on Uri Milman. He seemed then to do sterling service in tightening up the match.

Turk himself said he had been stunned by the news which he said had come as "an unexpected blow."

The team's departure was delayed by the El Al strike and they

are only due to arrive at the Bisham Abbey training camp outside London later today in a bid to acclimatize to the wet weather and slippery surfaces. Next Tuesday they fly on to Belfast for the November 18th match.

The result is of crucial importance to both Northern Ireland and Sweden. The Ulstermen must only draw to join Scotland in qualifying from Group six for the Spain finals; if Israel spring a major surprise Sweden will go through instead.

The match has aroused considerable interest and already all tickets have been snapped up. Swedish television will be relaying the match live, but in Israel fans will most likely have to be content with a radio commentary alone.

The full Israeli squad is: goalkeepers — Mizrahi, Havivi; Defence — Machness, Kirat, Bar, Avi Cohen, Ya'acov Cohen, Einstein, and Shum; Midfield — Eekhaus, Nissim Cohen, Malmilian, Lamm, Gariani and Sinai; Strikers — Tabak, Damti and Levy.

Maradona back

BUENOS AIRES (UPI). — Argentine soccer star Diego Maradona, stung by manager Cesar Menotti's comment that no player is certain of a place in the national team, scored a hat-trick on Sunday in Boca Juniors 4-1 victory over Instituto de Cordoba in a league match.

The three goals brought the 21-year-old star's tally to 10 in 11 matches and took him top of the scoring list.

Maradona was dropped from the national squad last month after refusing to attend training sessions. But on Sunday's form he showed Argentina cannot afford to leave him out of the team for next year's World Cup title defence in Spain.

World Cup Soccer

TEGUCIGALPA (Reuters). — Honduras beat Cuba 2-0 in the Central-North America and Caribbean World Cup qualifying finals yesterday.

STANDINGS:

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Honduras	3	2	0	0	6	0	4
Cuba	2	1	0	1	2	3	2
Mexico	2	1	0	1	4	1	2
El Salvador	2	0	1	1	1	2	1
Haiti	2	0	1	1	1	1	1
Cuba	2	0	0	2	0	6	0

Orly and Rakefet sweep through



Orly Bialostocki



Rakefet Binyamini

Post Sports Staff
Israeli teenagers Orly Bialostocki and Rakefet Binyamini showed splendid form in carrying Israel to a 3-0 win over Indonesia in the opening round of the Federation Cup, the women's world team tennis championships which began in Tokyo yesterday.

They both won their singles in straight sets. Binyamini beating Yolanda Sumarno 7-5, 6-1 while Bialostocki came through comfortably 6-0, 7-5 against Christina Susana.

Teaming up in the doubles, the Israeli girls dropped the opening set to the useful Sumarno-Lita Sugianto

combination at 4-6, but stormed back to take the second set also at 6-4 and the decider 6-1.

Although Israel had beaten Indonesia in 1974 to record the only Federation Cup win to date in eight outings in the main draw, yesterday's performance was most meritorious in that the Indonesians had done well in the competition in recent years.

The Israeli girls, who are both 17, now face a tough second round tie against the winners of the match between sixth-seeded Rumania and Hungary.

The U.S., represented by Chris Lloyd and Andrea Jaeger, are top seeds among the 32 participating nations in this, the 19th annual Cup tournament. The U.S. has won the cup nine times, Australia on seven occasions, and Czechoslovakia and South Africa once each.

Wimbledon runner-up Hana Mandlikova scored a runaway 6-2, 6-3 victory over Elisabeth Ekblom to lead second-seeded Czechoslovakia to a 3-0 triumph over Sweden.

A crowd of 11,000 braved 9.4 centigrade temperatures.

All in the family

STOCKHOLM (Reuters). — Sandy Meyer ensured a unique first in Grand Prix tournaments when he won through to last night's final of the \$200,000 Stockholm Open to face his brother Gene.

Sandy took the court against his younger brother by virtue of a major upset after he had outplayed Jimmy Connors in straight sets to win their semi final 6-3, 6-3. Gene had earlier reached the final by beating another American, Hank Pfister.

In Hong Kong, unseeded America Van Witsky captured the \$75,000 Classic tournament by beating Mark Edmondson of Australia, 6-4, 6-7, 6-4, in a rain-plagued final that covered two days.

Witsky, ranked 111 places behind the Australian, used his top-spin to good advantage on the asphalt court to outplay the fifth-seeded Edmondson.

Witsky is the third player who participated in the recent Ramat Hasharon Grand Prix to have gone on in the past fortnight to win his first ever Grand Prix tournament. The earlier successes were recorded by Witsky's compatriots Vase Van Patten and Mark Vlas.

Sevy's fine comeback

MELBOURNE (AP). — Severiano Ballesteros of Spain fired a closing three-under-par 69 to register a three-stroke victory in the \$150,000 Australian PGA championship at the Royal Melbourne Golf Course.

Ballesteros, 24, finished with a 72-hole total of 282, six-under-par. The Spaniard, who earned \$27,000, said after his second-round 74 that he would need a pair of 67s over the final two days to win. Instead, he smashed the course record with a 66 before rallying from five strokes back in the final round.

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WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at \$54.80 per line including VAT; insertion every day costs \$54.80 including VAT per month. Copy accepted at office of The Jerusalem Post and all recognized advertising agents.

JERUSALEM MUSEUMS
Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Permanent Collections of Judaica, Art and Archaeology. Jews of Kurdistan, Daily Life, Customs, Arts and Crafts. Dada Collages by Erwin Blumenthal, autobiographical photographic collages. Tribute to Zaritsky, to mark the 90th birthday of Joseph Zaritsky. "A Glimpse into the Past," the Terebinth collection. Treasures in Art after 1945, non-geometric abstraction and Pop Art. Special Exhibit: "Tikunei Shabbat," special Shabbat prayerbook, Germany 1717. Reality-Illusion (Youth Wing). Tribute to Sasha Schneider. Design from the Netherlands.

Visiting Hours: Main Museum 4-10, Shrine of the Book 10-10. At 4:30: Guided tour in English, 6 and 8:30. "Scarecrow" (in Fellini film). 7:15: Gallery Talk. Pavilion of Hebrew Scripts and Inscriptions. By Ruth Heston.

Guided Tour in English at Israel Museum: Sun, Mon., Wed., Thur. 11 a.m. Tues. 4:30 p.m. Shrine of the Book: Sun, Mon., Wed., Thur. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Tues. 10 a.m.-10 p.m. Fri. Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m. Rockefeller Museum: Sun-Thur. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Fri. Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.

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TALK SHOW
Faces of Jerusalem
Tonight, 8.30, at the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel: "Hush" at the Hilton moderated by Azaria Rapoport, with Dvora Wogder, Writer in Jerusalem; artist Yosi Stern; and Esther Heitner, Hadassah Community College.

Hebrew University:
1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building. Great Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 10.
2. Mount Scopus tours 11.00 a.m. from the

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Tel Aviv MUSEUMS
Tel Aviv Museum. Exhibitions: James Ensor (1860-1949), Israeli Art: A Decade of Acquisition. Archipelago: Early Works 1910-1921. European and American Art Collections. Visiting Hours: Sun-Thurs. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. (collections 10 a.m.-5 p.m.). Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m., 7-11 p.m. Friday closed.

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TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

CRYPTIC PUZZLE Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.

ACROSS

- Springtime music? (5)
- Opera newly produced in Ascot (5)
- Monarch's masculine measure (5)
- The Barker's doctor? (3)
- Car driver (5)
- The rumour that there's corn among the hay? (7)
- Tied in a knot by Pedro (5)
- Attention given in tea-rooms (3)
- Nominally he's like Dad (6)
- Hopes for wild praises (7)
- Lois may be a medium (4)
- A name in despotism (4)
- Donnish chaps? (7)
- Heavenly females in grand contests (6)
- He's in Miami, anyhow (3)
- Spaniard showing the way for Ron to return (5)
- One unbeliever or possible three, I see (7)
- Shouts tearfully? (5)
- Tired pet? (3)
- Sexton's name (5)
- A flower to fix, with a bit of Jack (5)
- Little room, we learn (5)

DOWN

- He adores having pounds to spare (5)
- She only pretends to work! (7)
- Hail as a bit of a hoyden? (4)
- As sung by the girls? (6)
- A he-man, this flier (5)
- City-loving character? (5)
- Salty sort of biscuit? (3)
- Scattered remains of a force (7)
- Just the fool to weaken? (3)
- Scots' old associates (5)
- Sort of suit to wear a frock coat with? (5)
- They're sweet but shaky (7)
- Original sugar-handling groups? (5)
- Wells shows some gallantry (5)
- Confessed to having money? (5, 2)
- Pogcher's accomplice in a hole, possibly (6)
- Outboard propeller! (3)
- Cotton centres? (5)
- Prepares to fire certain males (5)
- Work on the allotment with one finger? (5)
- As top man, he gets publicity (4)
- Best toy (3)

Yesterday's Cryptic Solution
Across — 4, Mistle. 7, Wild life. 8, Tutter. 10, Stars. 13, Dabs. 14, Tiro. 15, Mole. 16, Beg. 17, Bonn. 19, R-ed. 21, Wild goose (chase). 23, Kind. 24, Eme. 26, Dig. 27, Sloc. 29, U-nit. 32, M-O-an. 33, Spine. 34, Stain. 35, Town-ship. 36, Angles.

Yesterday's Easy Solution
Across — 1, Twist. 2, Fl-O-ut. 3, Hls. 4, Metal. 5, S-S-S. 6, I-ssed. 9, Oberon. 11, Tim. 12, Robin. 13, Dungeon. 15, Mod. 16, Bee. 18, Old sm. 20, Use up. 21, Wfg. 22, Ore. 23, Kites. 25, Win. 28, Less. 30, Night. 31, Tempo. 32, M-O. 33, Sink.

ACROSS — 4, Mistle. 7, Wild life. 8, Tutter. 10, Stars. 13, Dabs. 14, Tiro. 15, Mole. 16, Beg. 17, Bonn. 19, R-ed. 21, Wild goose (chase). 23, Kind. 24, Eme. 26, Dig. 27, Sloc. 29, U-nit. 32, M-O-an. 33, Spine. 34, Stain. 35, Town-ship. 36, Angles.

DOWN — 1, Twist. 2, Fl-O-ut. 3, Hls. 4, Metal. 5, S-S-S. 6, I-ssed. 9, Oberon. 11, Tim. 12, Robin. 13, Dungeon. 15, Mod. 16, Bee. 18, Old sm. 20, Use up. 21, Wfg. 22, Ore. 23, Kites. 25, Win. 28, Less. 30, Night. 31, Tempo. 32, M-O. 33, Sink.

Solutions to today's puzzle tomorrow

הכחמן האל

Ari Roth
Editor and
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM
POSTErwin Frenkel
Editor

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Heshvan 13, 5742 • Muharram 13, 1402

A needed reassessment

WHAT SHOULD Israel's reaction be to the West's turn towards Saudi Arabia — to Washington's military deals with Riyadh and to the nearly simultaneous embrace of the Fahd Plan (even though with varying degrees of warmth) by the U.S. and Western Europe? That is the major foreign policy issue facing the country at this time.

During the past fortnight there have been a number of somewhat vague suggestions made in high places to the effect that Israel might be forced to rethink its entire attitude to the peace process if the West persists in this attitude. In a public address in Jerusalem Sunday night Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir seemed to lend substance to the suggestions, by openly warning that an Israeli reassessment might indeed be called for in view of the West's failure to appreciate this country's concessions for peace — and the West's decided tilt to the Saudi regime.

Mr. Shamir had some justly harsh words for both the Saudis and the West. He recalled that, as soon as the AWACS deal had been approved, Riyadh hastened to make it clear that the planes were required not against the Soviet Union but against Israel. He took the U.S. to task for placing its reliance on this "broken reed" of a fanatically Moslem and resolutely anti-democratic state which is in fact working to bring the Kremlin back into the Middle East arena even by making it a full partner to a peace settlement.

"We have reached, even passed, the limits of our concessions, both in the south and in our proposal for full autonomy for the Arab inhabitants of Judea and Samaria. The reaction of the West and its present attitude to the oil-producing states may cause us to reassess our attitude. We cannot afford to continue taking risks that are met only with demands for more risks."

And yesterday similar sentiments, though in more moderate form, were expressed by the Prime Minister.

They accurately reflect the indignation in Israel against the European attempt to turn participation in the multinational force meant to safeguard the peace treaty with Egypt into a lever to replace the Camp David process with the Saudi prescription for "peace" on Yasser Arafat's terms, as well as indignation against the U.S. for flirting with the Saudi ideas.

Even before withdrawal from Sinai is completed and at a time when an energetic attempt is being made to reach an autonomy agreement with Egypt, the European foes of Camp David are keen to be its gravediggers and the Americans, though signatories, are disquieted not by Europe's intent, but by its intensity.

Yet for Israel indignation cannot substitute for policy. And here the government is faced with two dilemmas. It can and should block opponents of Camp David from joining the multinational force. But it cannot violate the terms of the peace treaty with Egypt, to punish as it were the U.S. or the Europeans.

At best what it can do is brace itself for a more strenuous political onslaught next year after the Sinai withdrawal is complete and some form of autonomy agreement is achieved. But even if there is such an agreement, its terms, given the government's fixed positions, are unlikely to satisfy the Saudis, and their fellow travellers in Europe, nor those in Washington enraptured by the Saudi connection.

Thus, the second dilemma will be how to keep the Camp David process alive in the splendid isolation deriving from the government's understanding of autonomy.

The obvious way out would be to acknowledge that autonomy is indeed a scheme to be intact for five years after which it will be replaced by a negotiated final settlement. In other words, to make autonomy a beginning, not an end. Such a more flexible position would certainly not satisfy Riyadh. It would not appease Lord Carrington. But it would put them in their rightful place — on the sidelines.

For such a position would reinvigorate the Camp David process, make it open-ended, invite negotiation, place the onus on Jordan and the Palestinians, where it belongs, and prevent the U.S. from straying after Saudi potions that Israel cannot digest.

POSTSCRIPTS

PS. N. DAVID GROSS'S reflections on this page recently on the Hassan Bek imbrolio and what happens to houses of worship — such as certain synagogues in England — set up an echo with an ironic twist in the mind of one of his *Post* colleagues. She writes:

"Some of my earliest recollections are of another North London synagogue: the Shackleton Lane synagogue in Stoke Newington. My father was a member of its board of management, and more vivid in my memory than the Shabbat services are the Sunday morning visits when, while he was busy in the boardroom, my sister and I were allowed to amuse ourselves in the synagogue itself, playing hide-and-seek even on the *almemar* and in the pulpit."

"We moved from the district before I was old enough for the youngest of the Hebrew and religion classes. But we never gave up our connections with Shackleton Lane, and over the years I attended many family weddings there. Indeed, the last time I was there was for my own marriage. "Whether it escaped the blitz entirely or whether it had to be restored after World War II I am not sure; but it was certainly functioning as a synagogue until comparatively recently. It was only on my last visit to London, just a few months ago, that I heard that it, too, has undergone a transformation. But it has not been turned, like the Poet's Road synagogue, into a warehouse. It is now a mosque."

R.C.R.

PS. RESIDENTS of Tombstone, Arizona and wild west enthusiasts everywhere recently marked the 100th anniversary of the famed Gunfight at the OK Corral. The battle was brief, but it was to take on mythic proportions, fuelled in no small measure by the popular cinematic version of the event featuring Kirk Douglas and Burt Lancaster.

All it took was 30 seconds, according to the Tombstone, Arizona, *Epitaph*, "to end violently the lives of three men, trigger off a blood-bath that would bring the threat of martial law to the Territory and start a bitter controversy that continues to this day."

In the shootout, Wyatt Earp and the tubercular "Doc" Holliday, assisted by Wyatt's brothers, Virgil and Morgan, killed three members of the Clanton gang. Tombstone's Sheriff Behan charged the Earp faction with murder and was supported by the Tombstone *Nugget* which denounced the killing of "harmless cowboys," while the *Epitaph* called the Clantons ruthless outlaws. A judge, posterity and a posse of Hollywood scriptwriters ruled in favour of the Earps.

Wyatt Earp survived the years of feuding which followed. He eventually drifted to Los Angeles, traded in his lawman's badge to become a stockbroker, married a Jewish woman and died peacefully in 1929, at age 81. He is buried in a Jewish cemetery in Los Angeles.

A.B.

CASE AGAINST ECONOMISTS

Have the orthodox economists got it all wrong? Yes, says BENJAMIN AKZIN, professor emeritus of political science and constitutional law at the Hebrew University, in an interview with DAVID KRIVINE.

THE WORLD is stuck in a worsening economic crisis, partly because politicians listen to economists — and the economists have got it wrong. So Dr. Akzin believes, a scholar of standing, now retired from the Hebrew University.

"In the U.S., in Britain, even in Germany, government finances are in such a mess that if a private firm were run like that it would go bust," he says.

"Budget deficits are mounting from year to year. The administration pays off old debts by issuing government bonds, which create new debts. When they can't sell any more bonds, they print money."

"A private company can do neither of these things. Governments get away with it because they use compulsion. Banks are compelled to buy the bonds, the public is compelled to use the money. So nobody notices what goes on."

Israel is no exception. Simha Ehrlich applied good liberal policies at the Treasury, and what happened? Prices soared. Yigael Hurvitz listened to the monetarists. Result: inflation continued to rage unabated.

The only man to make a dent in all this was — Yoram Aridor, the present minister. He ignored the orthodox economists. "The outcome was not catastrophe, indeed his policies alleviated the situation to some extent."

But, we interrupted, the index is now shooting up again. Ah, says Akzin, that is because the economists have gained his ear.

HURVITZ REDUCED subsidies in order to reduce the quantity of money in circulation. That pushed up the index, and as a result more money was spent, not less — on the cost-of-living allowance, on servicing the national debt. Far from reducing inflation, the Treasury's policies stimulated it.

"The economists, those predominant in Israel, go further back than Milton Friedman," Akzin declares, "they revert to David Ricardo, of the early 19th century. They seek solutions in purely economic terms. What interests them is the relation of the quantity of money to the quantity of goods. Only that counts."

"They treat the expectations of the public as variables which can be influenced and adjusted. Thus: one of their techniques for decreasing the volume of money is to raise interest rates, which reduces credit. Having less money, they say, people will buy less."

"That may be the case in Chile, where Pinochet has the power to impose his will on the public. But not in a democratic country like Israel. The population has no intention of buying less."

Popular expectations will not change on the economists' say-so, they should realize that. Says Akzin: "In the old days economics was called 'political economy.' That was right. The word 'political' comes from the Greek word *polis*, meaning society. Economic problems

should be considered realistically in terms of the political climate prevailing in society."

Monetarists believe that diminishing the supply of money in a controlled manner causes a measure of unemployment which reduces the expectations of the wage-earners, so that wages can be cut. That makes business profitable again, output goes up and full employment is restored.

"It sounds fine, except that one important factor has been omitted: the trade union movement. They will not allow a cut in wages, even under conditions of unemployment. So the whole process of reduced costs and new profitability doesn't happen. All that happens is joblessness."

"ARIDOR UNDERSTOOD that. The populist programme he adopted before the recent elections was no different from what Meshel or Kessar of the Histadrut would have carried out in his place. He froze prices, and was right to do so. Levinson would have done the same."

"I was glad when I heard that Labour wanted Levinson as their candidate for the Treasury. I was sorry when they switched to Ben-Shahar, of Tel Aviv University. He is a product of that same school of economists, who shut their eyes to social realities."

But surely, subsidizing goods and keeping down interest rates costs money, which leads to those very inflationary manifestations that Akzin deplors?

"I deplore that the government cannot tackle those problems by direct control measures. The economists recommend monetary policies because that is the indirect approach. They shudder away from any interference with market forces. They are thoroughly averse to fiscal legislation."

"I would freeze prices, which is one way of taxing profits. It also permits agreement between all parties on the introduction of an incomes policy." (This happens to be precisely what the new French socialist government under Francois Mitterrand is doing.)

"Keeping down prices would help the export drive. Imports can be reined in by taxing them where possible, especially luxuries."

"Luxuries aren't important, their price does not have to be restrained. They should be omitted from the cost-of-living index. If the price of a colour TV set goes up, that doesn't affect the living standards of the people. Bicycles have to be included in the index, but private cars not. One can always travel by bus."

What about the state budget, should that be cut? Professor Akzin grins: "The Opposition calls for budget cuts, but suppose the government really did that and created unemployment, imagine what a clamour would rise from the Opposition benches."

He agrees that government expenditure should be trimmed, but cautiously and only where genuine

economies are possible. He does not believe in drastic economies which would put civil servants out of work. Economists urge the need for labour mobility, but there are obstacles to that as well in a free and democratic society.

"Let's not kid ourselves," he says, "putting a clerk out of a job won't make him go to work in a plastics factory. Firing a secretary from a government office won't persuade her to operate looms in a textile mill." Inflexibility on this point is recognized as a social right nowadays. "In most Western countries, persons who can't find work in their own occupation rate unemployment insurance."

If someone has devoted his working life to a particular field, he will not switch to something radically different, he would rather be unemployed. His monthly benefit will be less than the salary that goes with a job, but not so much less as to force him to make an unpleasant decision. He chooses to wait until a vacancy crops up which suits his book.

WILL THE RATHER mild correctives that Akzin suggests resolve the nation's economic crisis? They will not, he states firmly. He admits that hard measures are required. He accepts the monetarists' claim that living standards ought to be lowered. His point is that it cannot be done in a democratic society where the population is aware of its rights and has the power to protect those rights.

"A coalition government uniting the two big parties, Labour and Likud, might help. If they sat together they could apply more radical, less popular policies. They couldn't go far in that direction, but they could do something. "You see, I don't think that extreme measures are physically pos-

Dry Bones



sible in a society based on consent. They only make things worse. We are assailed with an economic sickness, which we don't know how to cure."

"But we can abate the disease, we can prevent it from deteriorating. It's like a person suffering from diabetes. Insulin cannot heal the ailment, but it does hold it at bay."

"If a certain antibiotic were discovered which cured diabetes yet at the same time created a grave allergy in the patient, it would be a mistake to use it. Better to fall back on insulin which at least stabilizes the patient's situation, rather than cure him of diabetes — and afflict him with an illness that is worse."

"Monetarist policies do more harm than good when applied rigidly, without regard to the reactions of the society in which we live. Better accommodate ourselves to our plight and concentrate on keeping it in check, easing its effects, alleviating its symptoms."

What about abolishing democracy altogether? I ask casually. Akzin won't hear of it, the benefits of freedom are too great. Representative government is a tremendous achievement. Its

privileges tend to be abused, but that is not a reason for discarding it. Is there no remedy at all for present ills under the democratic system? He looks thoughtful. "Two countries in the world are economically sound," he says. "Switzerland and Japan. That is because their inhabitants work hard, believe in work, see it as a basic value."

"If we could return to those first principles which inspired the early settlers in Eretz Yisrael: the simple life, indifference to luxuries, a desire to build the country — our present economic difficulties would vanish."

The implication is that modern man has it too easy, is getting himself killed by kindness. "In Germany," the professor points out, "unemployment insurance benefits equal 70 per cent of the wage that a job would provide. So why get a job? It is easier to live in idleness. Even the industrious Germans are beginning to think that way."

People prefer consuming to producing. If they are free to choose, that is what they plump for, which, it seems, is the core of the problem.

READERS' LETTERS

REMEMBRANCE DAY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Regrettably, I am unable to attend the memorial service at the British War Cemetery on Mt. Scopus on November 11, and I would appreciate the hospitality of your columns to air some thoughts concerning this occasion.

I am presently reading, for the third time, "My Seventy Years" by Norman Bentwich, who was the first Attorney-General under the British Mandate. Yet again he has enormously impressed me by his revelation of the Jewish contribution to the Allied cause in the first World War.

Some of the most prominent examples, of course, were Dr. Weizmann's outstanding scientific discoveries which redressed the Allies' serious military disadvantages at a critical period in the war; the brilliant and courageous activities of the Jewish intelligence service in Palestine (Nili), which paved the way for General Allenby's conquest of the Holy Land; and the very high *pro rata* enlistment of British Jews in the armed forces, as well as the Jewish volunteers from Great Britain, U.S.A. and Canada to the Middle East. To say nothing of the other theatres of war whose Jewish officers and men gave distinguished service.

For those who, like myself, will be denied the privilege of experiencing the two minutes' silence on Mt. Scopus, let me share the inspiring lines from "Prayers from Jerusalem" by the former Anglican Archbishop, George Appleton: "May the memory of two World Wars strengthen our efforts for peace. May the memory of those who died inspire our service for the living. May the memory of past destruction move us to build for the future. O Father of Souls, O God of Peace, O Builder of the Kingdom."

JAMES McWHIRTER (Rev.)
A Christian Zionist in Jerusalem
Jerusalem.

OUR ABIE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The State of Israel has long neglected a worthy and outstanding citizen, Abie Nathan. His acts of mercy are well known and too numerous to be counted. I believe Israel should nominate him for the Nobel Peace Prize.

ILSE WINTERBERG

Herzliya.

OIL IN ISRAEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The following anecdote complements Pearl Gafen's recent article on Andy Sorelle and his belief that there is oil in Israel.

Back in 1944, when I was visiting Houston in the course of our struggle against the anti-Zionists in the American Jewish community, I met a Texas oil millionaire. He was convinced that there was oil under the Carmel range and sought a licence to drill there. He based his certainty on 1 Kings XVIII:30-40, for he conjectured that when Elijah prayed and the fire "licked up the water that was in the trench" around the altar, it was because it was not water — it was oil!

May the beliefs of Andy Sorelle and his prototype be fulfilled!
Rabbi ARTHUR J. LELYVELD
Cleveland, Ohio.



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Deadline for registration is on Friday, November 20, 1981.

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